Institute of Social and Religious Research

HOW SHALL COUNTRY YOUTH BE SERVED?

H. PAUL DOUGLASS

The Institute of Social and Religious Research, which is responsible for this publication, was organized in January, 1921, as the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. It conducts and publishes studies and surveys and promotes conferences for their consideration. The Institute's aim is to combine the scientific method with the religious motive. It cooperates with other social and religious agencies, but is itself an independent organization.

The directorate of the Institute is composed of: John R. Mott, Chairman; Raymond B. Fosdick, Treasurer; Kenyon L. Butterfield, Recording Secretary; James L. Barton, W. H. P. Faunce and Paul Monroe. Galen M. Fisher is Executive Secretary. The offices are at 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

HOW SHALL COUNTRY YOUTH BE SERVED?

A STUDY OF THE "RURAL" WORK OF CERTAIN NATIONAL CHARACTER-BUILDING AGENCIES

BY

H. PAUL DOUGLASS

LIBRARY OF
UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
HT 453
D6
1926 47,222

NEW YORK
GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY

COPYRIGHT, 1926,
BY GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY

26-2905

HOW SHALL COUNTRY YOUTH BE SERVED?
— B —
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

This report is based upon a first-hand study of representative samples of the "rural" work of five national character-building agencies, namely, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Boy Scouts of America, the Girl Scouts, Inc., and the Camp Fire Girls. Less extensive collateral studies were also made of the work of the Junior Extension Clubs of the United States and State Extension Services and of Sunday School Associations or Councils of Religious Education where these were organized on a comparable basis. A brief narrative of the origin, conduct and formal methodology of the project appears in the Appendix.[1]

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

VIEWPOINT AND LIMITATIONS

The rural work of these agencies is not the original nor the total work of any of them except of the Junior Extension Clubs. While, as among agencies, the proportion of the rural work varies greatly as compared with the total, in no case but the one just mentioned is it the principal field judged either by the general interest of the agencies themselves or by the reputation they enjoy.[2]

Again, while, as proclaimed by their names, all of the agencies studied exist primarily for the service of youth, some have a greater age-range than others and may, in their general work, have large ministries for adults. The rural work, on the other hand, is much more generally limited to minors. The great bulk of it is for boys and girls or young men and women who have not yet reached their majority. All the agencies, however, are operated by adults, and all enlist considerable numbers

1 Appendix I and V.

2 The "town and country" work of the Young Men's Christian Association is 4 per cent. of the total. (International Committee, Bureau of Records, Bulletin 14, January, 1924.) No other agency has formally calculated its proportion.

AUG 5 - 1969

of them as leaders, constituents of varying degrees and financial supporters. The study, therefore, treats the agencies from the standpoint of their function of serving youth, and regards the adult constituencies as comprising local auxiliary forces for this purpose, although a relatively small part of their activities is expressly designed for adults and all participating adults undoubtedly get incidental personal benefits.

AUSPICES AND OBJECTIVES

In undertaking the study, the Institute of Social and Religious Research sought formally to associate with itself the national agencies concerned, and most of them, by official action, agreed to participation.[3] The study was formulated and subsequently criticized by an advisory committee, which included persons especially competent in the field of rural interests or social investigation.[4] In its prosecution by the Institute, it had the close coöperation of many representatives of the agencies, both at headquarters and in the field, who spent many hours in helping the staff to secure first-hand objective information, in giving personal evidence, and in considering formulated results.

A SIGNIFICANT RURAL PROBLEM

A concrete situation—that is to say, the actual series of deeds and processes constituting the effort of these and similar agencies to help the people of the smaller American communities—presents a significant subject for social investigation. In trying to solve rural problems these agencies have, among other things, created a new problem; namely, themselves, their activities and relationships.

The resultant problem has two obvious phases. First, it concerns the effort of agencies approaching rural civilization from outside to import into it certain novel ideas and practices believed to be for the good of town and country youth. Secondly, the problem is complicated by the fact that this effort is put

[3] See Appendix II.
[4] For list of advisors and record of their participation, see Appendix III.

forth by numerous agencies each acting independently and all making somewhat similar claims for themselves; a circumstance that incidentally involves rather frequent contacts with the same communities and people and thus with one another in the local field.

The crux of the problem in its first phase is how to naturalize externally promoted movements within rural communities. Concretely this means the process of securing like-mindedness on the part of the people of these communities throughout rural America as to the needs of boys and girls and how to supply them; such people, for example, as the small town merchant, the retired farmer, the country schoolteacher, the village garage keeper and auto mechanic, the housewife and clergyman both in the town and the open country, and the working farmer. It means carrying the process to the point where they become accustomed to organized partnership with the national promotional agencies in work for boys and girls until finally they come to regard such work as a recognized and permanent part of their own community life.[5]

The objective of the study in this aspect was to determine how far what has actually happened is a genuine, sound and permanent process of social integration and how far it is something trivial and forced—rather an attempted grafting of alien characteristics upon an unwilling and obdurate rural type than a legitimate naturalization.

The second phase of the problem appears when rural people of the kind described above find numerous national agencies making simultaneous appeals to them in a given area or community; and especially when more than one agency is already trying to maintain organization in a given place, to find leadership for it and to gain support by cultivation of the same public and youth constituency. Of this, extreme illustrations were found such as one furnished by a Connecticut pastor. "In my small rural suburb," he said, "no less than five agencies are attempting to organize the life of young people constructively. First there were the Boy Scouts; then the Young Men's Christian Association. Next came the state through its rural ex-

[5] For a fuller discussion of utilization, see p. 82 ff.

tension clubs for boys and girls. The public schools meanwhile felt it their duty to organize and supervise the activities of their pupils out of school hours. Finally a fellow pastor attempted to promote organized Sunday-school classes throughout the community as part of the official method of the religious education movement." How many like cases there are, how the agencies behave toward one another in such cases and how the communities feel about it became one of the keenest interests of the inquiry.

THE MOTIVE OF THE INVESTIGATION

The motives of the investigation were naturally not identical for the participating agencies and for the Institute. A large part of the interest of the agencies was immediately practical. They hoped that the results of the study would help them to do their own work better; that is, would enable them to improve their methods, while leaving their working postulates undisturbed. And, as a matter of fact, a number of the agencies did make considerable and frequent use of the results of the investigation during its progress, as, for example, in formal reports and as a basis for recommendations of policy.

The motive of the Institute's investigators was more far-reaching. The study was conceived as a piece of research in applied sociology, which might well challenge the working postulates of the agencies. These central agencies, with headquarters in cities, and commanding all the modern resources of education and propaganda, had the laudable ambition to make their work nation-wide. What, then, should be their precise function, and in particular, how should they approach rural civilization and rural communities? For the peculiarity of the situation lay in the fact that though the object of the agencies' effort, so far as this study was concerned, was rural, their structures and major interests were, actually if not confessedly, urban.

The special problem, was, therefore, How is rural civilization to be treated when one attempts to improve it? What is the rôle of the indigenous agencies already rooted in rural com-

munities and essential to accepted aspects of them? What are the rights and responsibilities, for example, of the church and school in small communities in connection with such an effort? The whole constituted a problem of the relationships between the center and the circumference, the city and the country, the national and the local, in the evolution of the American social order. If not to answer the problem, at least to open up a representative field in which it was outstanding, and to suggest methods of possible solution, was the ultimate motive of the study.

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

The essential data of the study were secured in a series of field investigations made community by community in fifty-three counties taken from all sections of the United States.[6] These investigations were supplemented by extensive examination of data and information supplied by territorial and national headquarters of the agencies and by other official sources.

Two kinds of information about the work of the agencies in these communities were sought: (1) measurable objective facts which could be statistically expressed and compared; and (2) evidence, primarily by direct testimony, as to the opinions and attitudes of people concerned. The first kind was elicited, for example, by the question, How many members have you here?, and by comparing the answers of the different agencies; the second kind by the question, What kind of a man represents the X agency and what values has its work for the boys and girls of your community?, and by recording the replies as expressions of personal feeling and trends of community reaction.

The first type of information was gathered by means of elaborate schedules, the tabulated results of which appear in the statistical tables accompanying the text.[7] The second type was recorded in voluminous field notes embodying the substance of interviews and the impressions of field workers. The results have received tabular formulation particularly in Chap-

[6] For list see p. xi.
[7] Tables appear at the end of the chapter based upon them.

ters IX and XI and are used throughout the text as commentary on the facts as objectively established.

The method of the study may thus be summarized as an extensive statistical sampling of facts involved in the work of the agencies, supplemented by an interpretative record of opinion and observation.

The limitations of such a method are well understood. It undertakes primarily to compare measurable facts. No technique exists for measuring some of the vital phenomena involved, as, for example, the character-building influence of a given discipline or set of activities. A complementary exhaustive case study of a small area or number of organizations would obviously penetrate to levels of intimate understanding which the limits of the present study forbade.[8]

METHOD OF PRESENTATION

The present volume is a report exhibiting the data of the investigation and closely following their structure, rather than a treatise remotely derived from them.

It was preceded by three preliminary reports. The first two dealt in greater fullness with separate blocks of data, while the third presented the entire data of the present study in substantially the same organization but in more abbreviated form. Each of the three was submitted in manuscript form for criticism to the agencies and available advisors, and their results had extensive discussion in two Findings Conferences held in May, 1924, and February, 1925, respectively,[9] in the light of which the present report has been thoroughly revised.

The scope of the investigation and the structure of the report are shown in the following outline of chapters.

[8] Representatives of certain agencies have advanced the opinion that case studies would have resulted in more favorable impressions of their work. But it must be remembered that case studies, in order to be decently fair, would have to include examples of mediocrity or failure as well as of success. This means that they would have to take account of the inadequacies and frequent futilities of average work, of the disgusted revulsion of communities from failure when it has been contemptible or demeaning, and of the bitterness of disillusioned individuals who feel that they have been fooled. Impressions left by realistic statements of such facts would be infinitely more distressing than sets of cold-blooded but relatively non-committal figures can be. The present method doubtless fails to express the best that could be said of the agencies, but it also omits to say the worst.

[9] Appendix I.

Part I is a systematic presentation of the data. It concerns (1) the initiating national agencies (Chapters I, II and III); (2) the responsive communities (Chapters IV and V); (3) the rôle of the individual volunteer leader of boys' and girls' work who functions now as an initiating and again as a responsive agent (Chapter VI); (4) the effort of the agencies and of the community to work together and the major issues growing out of this effort (Chapters VII, VIII and IX); and (5) the specific methods used in the character-building process for youth as carried on among them (Chapter X). This main exposition of the results of the investigation is followed by a section setting forth the verdicts of popular opinion as discovered upon the field (Chapter XI).

Part II consists of a systematic exposition and expanded narrative of discussion by the participating staff, agency representatives and advisors, of the postulates and conclusions of the study, and of the final recommendations based upon it. It has three chapters: "Attitudes and Assumptions" (Chapter XII), "Major Issues" (Chapter XIII) and "Suggested Experiments in Coöperation" (Chapter XIV), followed by the Appendix.

Statistical tables follow each chapter of Part I. In the interest of brevity, the text concerns itself primarily with major and common tendencies. It does not attempt to tell the full story as revealed by the tables, especially as to differences among agencies. In this respect, responsibility for studying the tables is laid upon the reader.

TABLE I—REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF 53 COUNTIES STUDIED

New England
Maine: Cumberland; *Vermont:* Windsor; *Massachusetts:* Worcester, Barnstable; *Connecticut:* Hartford.

Middle Atlantic
New York: Monroe, Chautauqua, Oneida, Orange; *New Jersey:* Bergen, Burlington, Camden; *Pennsylvania:* Columbia, Lackawanna.

Southern
Delaware: New Castle, Kent; *Maryland:* Harford; *North Carolina:* Orange; *South Carolina:* Spartanburg; *Florida:* Polk, Pinellas; *Alabama:* Colbert; *Kentucky:* Harlan, Bourbon.

EAST CENTRAL
Ohio: Coshocton, Fairfield, Wyandot; *Indiana:* Noble, Bartholomew; *Michigan:* Gogebic, Kent, Allegan, Livingston; *Illinois:* Shelby, Du Page; *Wisconsin:* Walworth.

WEST CENTRAL
Iowa: Calhoun, Buena Vista, Henry; *Missouri:* Jasper; *Kansas:* Sedgwick, McPherson; *Nebraska:* Gage; *South Dakota:* Brookings; *North Dakota:* Barnes.

MOUNTAIN
Colorado: Weld; *Wyoming:* Laramie.

PACIFIC COAST
California: Imperial, Orange, Tulare, Santa Clara; *Washington:* Pierce, Walla Walla.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	PREFACE	v

PART I

THE FACTS IN THE CASE

CHAPTER		
I.	THE AGENCIES AND THEIR RURAL WORK	25
II.	HOW THE AGENCIES OPERATE	38
III.	EFFECT OF STARTING WITH TOWNS AND CITIES	51
IV.	TAKING ROOT IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY	64
V.	HOW COMMUNITIES MAKE THE WORK THEIR OWN	82
VI.	LOCAL LEADERS OF BOYS' AND GIRLS' WORK	93
VII.	INTENSIVE SUPERVISION	104
VIII.	FINANCES OF TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION	118
IX.	CONTACTS AND REACTIONS IN THE LOCAL FIELD	127
X.	HOW CHARACTER IS DEVELOPED THROUGH ACTIVITY	142
XI.	IS THE WORK WORTH WHILE?	155

PART II

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

XII.	ATTITUDES AND ASSUMPTIONS	169
XIII.	MAJOR ISSUES	187
XIV.	SUGGESTED EXPERIMENTS IN COÖPERATION	215

APPENDICES

I.	CHRONOLOGY OF THE STUDY	237
II.	LIST OF COÖPERATING AGENCIES	239

CHAPTER PAGE

III. Advisors 240
IV. Estimates of Membership 241
V. Methodology 243
VI. Relation to Previous and Parallel Studies of Rural Agencies 246
VII. Statistics of Rural Work of Three National Agencies 248

LIST OF TABLES

		PAGE
I.	Regional Distribution of 53 Counties Studied	xi
II.	Proportion of Each Agency's "Rural" Membership Included in This Study (53 Counties)	32
III.	Junior Extension Work (19 Individual Counties)	36
IV.	Per Cent. of Young People Who Are Members of Organized Groups of Any of the Agencies (33 Individual Counties)	37
V.	Type of Supervision by Agencies in 225 Incorporated Places (53 Counties)	39
VI.	Type of Intensive Supervision by Agencies in Organized Areas	41
VII.	Number Per County of the Four Agencies Having County Organization (45 Counties)	41
VIII.	Degree of Occupancy by Each Agency of Places Having Fewer Than 10,000 Inhabitants (53 Counties)	45
IX.	Number of Incorporated and Non-Incorporated Places Occupied by the Agencies (53 Counties)	46
X.	Origins of 62 County Organizations of Three Agencies	49
XI.	Amount of Consultation Preceding 27 County Organizations of Three Agencies	49

PAGE

XII. Character of Specific Demand for 28 County Organizations of Three Agencies 50

XIII. Degree of Public Approval of 39 County Organizations of Three Agencies 50

XIV. Age of 66 County Organizations of Three Agencies 50

XV. Number of Places Occupied by Any of the Agencies in Counties Classified by Concentration of Population (53 Counties) 50

XVI. Size of Incorporated Places Having Fewer Than 10,000 Inhabitants Occupied by Any of the Agencies (53 Counties) 53

XVII. Comparative Frequency of Specified Subsidiary Church Organizations in Various Types of Rural and Small City Communities . . . 54

XVIII. Distribution of the Rural and Small City Population in the 53 Counties Compared with Its Distribution in the United States . . 58

XIX. Distribution of the Rural and Small City Population in 29 Counties Having Non-Concentrated Populations Compared with Its Distribution in the United States . . 58

XX. Distribution by Size of All Incorporated Places of Fewer Than 10,000 Inhabitants Compared with the Distribution of Agencies in Those Places (53 Counties) . . . 58

XXI. Proportion of Places of Varying Size Occupied by Any of the Agencies in Counties Classified by Concentration of Population (53 Counties) 60

PAGE

XXII. Distribution of the Population in Counties Classified by Concentration of Population (53 Counties) 60

XXIII. Distribution by Size of the Incorporated Places in the United States Suburban to Cities of 100,000 Population and Over 60

XXIV. Number of Incorporated Places of Varying Size Having Specified Number of Agencies (53 Counties) 61

XXV. Average Number of "Other Social Agencies" in Suburban and Non-Suburban Places of Varying Size (53 Counties) 61

XXVI. Distribution of Places in Counties with Concentrated and Non-Concentrated Populations Having Specified Number of Agencies . 61

XXVII. Number of Incorporated Places of Varying Size Having Competitive and Non-Competitive Units of the Agencies (53 Counties) . . . 62

XXVIII. Distribution, by Size of Place, of Agency Units Under Intensive and Non-Intensive Supervision . . 63

XXIX. Distribution by Size of Places of Boy Scout Units Under Intensive and Non-Intensive Supervision . 63

XXX. Permanence of Agencies, 1913-1924 (100 Cases) 66

XXXI. Length of Life of 232 Lapsed Units of the Agencies in Places of Varying Size 68

XXXII. Distribution by Age of 9,295 Members of the Agencies (22 Counties) . 69

XXXIII. Number of Organized Groups of the Agencies Classified by Region and by Type of Supervision (53 Counties) 74

PAGE

XXXIV. Number of Members of Organized Groups of the Agencies Classified by Region and by Type of Supervision (53 Counties) 75

XXXV. Average Size of Organized Groups of the Agencies Classified by Region and by Type of Supervision (53 Counties) 76

XXXVI. Distribution of Local and Agency Initiative in Starting 495 Local Units of Three Agencies . . . 76

XXXVII. Ratio of Lapsed to Living Units of the Agencies 77

XXXVIII. Length of Life of 227 Lapsed Units of the Agencies in Intensively Supervised and Non-Intensively Supervised Areas 77

XXXIX. Date of Establishment of 579 Organized Groups of the Agencies . . 78

XL. Proportion of Agency Members from Farm Families 78

XLI. Ratio of Attendance to Enrollment at Meetings of Local Units of the Agencies 78

XLII. Proportion of Agency Members Under 16 Years of Age Who Are Sunday-School Pupils . . . 79

XLIII. Proportion of Agency Members 16 Years of Age and Over Who Are Church-Members 80

XLIV. Distribution by Rank of 5,189 Boy Scouts and 686 Girl Scouts . . 81

XLV. Distribution by Rank of 686 Girl Scouts and 359 Camp Fire Girls . 81

XLVI. Distribution by Type of 5,984 Members of the Young Men's Christian Association 81

PAGE

XLVII. Distribution by Type of 4,134 Members of the Young Women's Christian Association in 11 Intensively Supervised Counties Compared with the Distribution of Total Members in the Town and Country Department 81

XLVIII. Places of Meeting of 603 Local Units of the Agencies 90

XLIX. Sources of Leadership of 382 Local Units of the Agencies . . . 91

L. Tenure of Administrative Headquarters of 62 County Organizations of Three Agencies . . . 91

LI. Tenure of Camp Property of 60 County Organizations of Three Agencies 91

LII. Sponsoring Organizations of 485 Local Units of the Agencies . . 92

LIII. Distribution by Age of 488 Unpaid Workers of the Agencies . . 96

LIV. Membership and Meetings Per Year of Local Committees of the Agencies 100

LV. Distribution by Degree of Education of 476 Unpaid Workers of the Agencies 101

LVI. Distribution by Professional Occupation of 350 Unpaid Workers of the Agencies 101

LVII. Distribution by Occupation of 703 Unpaid Workers of the Agencies . 102

LVIII. Distribution by Hours Per Month Given to Work of the Agencies by 257 Unpaid Workers 102

LIX. Distribution by Years of Service Devoted to the Work of the Agencies by 425 Unpaid Workers . . . 103

PAGE

LX. Distribution by Occupation of Male County Committeemen and of Local Group Leaders . . . 103

LXI. Number of Commuters and Non-Commuters on Certain County Committees of two Agencies . . 112

LXII. Classification by Sex of 74 Paid Workers of Four Agencies . . 114

LXIII. Ages of 66 Paid Workers of Three Agencies 114

LXIV. Degree of Education of 68 Paid Workers of Three Agencies . . 114

LXV. Technical Education of 68 Paid Workers of Three Agencies . . 115

LXVI. Early Environment of 49 Paid Workers of Three Agencies . . . 115

LXVII. Professional Experience of 69 Paid Workers of Three Agencies . . 115

LXVIII. Length of Time in Present Position of 70 Paid Workers of Three Agencies 115

LXIX. Salaries of 72 Paid Workers of Three Agencies 116

LXX. Classification by Position of 74 Paid Executives of Four Agencies . . 116

LXXI. Opinions of Representative Citizens Regarding the Ability of 51 Paid Workers of Three Agencies . . 116

LXXII. Number of Organized Units of the Agencies in Counties with Specified Number of Paid Workers . 117

LXXIII. Incomes of 57 County Organizations of Three Agencies 119

LXXIV. Distribution of Sources of Income of 47 County Organizations of Three Agencies 119

LXXV. Distribution of Expenditures of 54 County Organizations of Three Agencies 120

PAGE

LXXVI. Expenditures of 57 County Organizations of Three Agencies . . 124

LXXVII. Cost Per County of 37 County Organizations 124

LXXVIII. Opinions of Representative Citizens Regarding the Financial Condition of 47 County Organizations of Three Agencies 124

LXXIX. Financial Condition by Regions of 65 County Organizations of Three Agencies as Rated by the Investigation 125

LXXX. Rating of the Financial Condition of the Agencies in Counties Where There is More Than One Agency . 125

LXXXI. Relation Between the Number of Agencies Per County and the Financial Condition of the Agency 126

LXXXII. Number of Favorable and Unfavorable Opinions of Representative Citizens Classified by Occupations and by Their Relations to Three Agencies 129

LXXXIII. Competitive and Coöperative Relationships Among Local Units of the Agencies 132

LXXXIV. Number of Competitive and Coöperative Relationships Among the Agencies 141

LXXXV. Number of Counties Having Specified Combinations of the Agencies in Counties Intensively Organized by One or More Agency (46 Counties) 141

LXXXVI. Activities in the County Programs of Three Agencies Ranked by Frequency of Mention in Local Promotional Literature 146

PAGE

LXXXVII. Common Elements in the Programs of All the Agencies 147

LXXXVIII. Activities in the County Programs of the Young Men's Christian Association Ranked by Frequency of Mention in 1923 Reports from 95 Counties 151

LXXXIX. Average Duration Per Year of Specified Activities Listed by 41 Local Units of the Young Men's Christian Association 152

XC. Average Duration Per Year of Specified Activities Listed by 39 Local Units of the Boy Scouts . . . 152

XCI. Average Duration Per Year of Specified Activities of 27 Local Units of the Young Women's Christian Association 153

XCII. Average Duration Per Year of Specified Activities Listed by 19 Local Units of the Girl Scouts . . . 154

XCIII. Average Duration of Specified Activities Listed by 26 Local Units of the Camp Fire Girls 154

XCIV. Number of Favorable and Unfavorable Opinions of Representative Citizens Concerning Local Work of Three Agencies 156

XCV. Distribution of Values Ascribed by Representative Citizens to Local Work of Three Agencies . . . 157

XCVI. Number of Adverse Judgments Regarding the Worth-whileness of the Work of the Agencies Compared With Number of Cases in Which Finances Are Reported "Poor" 165

PART I: THE FACTS IN THE CASE

PART I: THE FACTS IN THE CASE

Chapter I

THE AGENCIES AND THEIR RURAL WORK

Out of twenty-seven voluntary national agencies attempting to serve American rural communities on a philanthropic basis,[1] this report covers the five already named in the Preface: namely, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Boy Scouts of America, the Girl Scouts, Inc., and the Camp Fire Girls. These were studied as the major representatives of the organized forces having as their main object the fostering of character-building processes among youth.

No limitation to these agencies was adopted in advance, and field study in the sample territory included whatever similar agencies it found. Examples of a number of others, enumerated in the Preface, were encountered, and are treated in the text. The five above named were, however, so much the most frequent and outstanding that statistical data are in the main confined to them.

The potential beneficiaries of these character-building processes are about 14,000,000 young Americans between the ages of ten and twenty years inclusive, who live on the farms and in the villages and small towns of the country, constituting all told about 74,000 communities.[2]

The label "rural" as applied to this study, coupled with the fact that small cities are included in it, raises an issue and

[1] This number is listed by the Conference of National Agencies Doing Rural Social Work in addition to governmental and constructive commercial agencies.

[2] Morse and Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States*, p. 39. (Institute of Social and Religious Research.)

points out an apparent discrepancy which should be cleared up in advance.

Just as the study did not predetermine the particular agencies to be included, neither did it fix the populational limits of the field to be explored. This was a matter properly left to be settled by the usage of the agencies. The organized rural work was usually found around some center of population. It was discovered that the agencies that maintain separate "rural" or "town and country" departments frequently included in these departments the administration of work in cities of 10,000, and occasionally even larger, population. Moreover, the characteristic methods employed by some of the agencies in their preponderant city work were rarely maintained in places of less than 10,000. In other words, while there is no sharp dividing line, work in places of 10,000 population and less is fairly homogeneous with that in the more strictly rural areas. A population of 10,000 is, therefore, used as the upward limit. Most of the rural work, however, falls in places of 5,000 population or less.[3]

Before inquiring just where and how far they have gone in their work for youth in communities of such size, it is important to introduce a little more adequately the agencies themselves, particularly in their rural characters.

THE AGENCIES IN THEIR RURAL ASPECTS

The agencies are co-workers in behalf of American rural youth. But they also represent movements with separate histories and somewhat distinct atmospheres. Consequently, even when their rivalry is not overt or consciously pursued, there is implicit in them some measure of competition for the leadership of youth according to their particular ideas and ideals.

The differences among them, as discovered by this study, are not so great as the agencies think they are, but they are nevertheless genuine and to be taken into account.

For an understanding of these differences it is beside the mark to appeal to formal statements, official or other, based on

[3] Table XVI.

the total work of the agencies. As already explained, the rural work is but a minor fraction of the total, and some of the agencies have never clearly defined their purposes in rural effort nor separately enumerated its results. In any event, it was deliberately decided that the data of the study should be obtained directly from observation of the actual functioning of the agencies in the field.

The characterization of the agencies in the following paragraphs, therefore, does not start with such abstractions as "Town and Country Department of the Young Men's Christian Association" or "Rural Scouts." The people and processes covered under these terms have been encountered in action in all parts of the United States and studied as social forces, partly, at least, naturalized in regions and localities. Much of the national or general tradition of the respective agencies has doubtless survived; but they all have taken on local coloring and limitations. Whatever official version of their respective movements they may receive from headquarters is diluted by local understanding and merged with local characteristics. It is this actual resultant—the work as it has come to be in the hands of the smaller communities and their inhabitants—which is now summarized. It should be understood, however, that since the study did not develop systematic categories of comparison in this field, the summary here presented is essentially the chief investigator's interpretation of what he and his colleagues found and felt.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

In its rural work the Young Men's Christian Association is the most obviously religious of the agencies compared. This is unmistakable; although its recreational work is more outstanding in the minds of communities,[4] and though the lack of adequate religious effort is sometimes criticized. The announced objective: "To help win boys to Jesus Christ," is commonly taken with real seriousness; and personal Christian consecration and Christian vocation are very strongly stressed

[4] Table XCV, p. 157.

in all the more general expressions of Young Men's Christian Association work as found on the field.

Beyond this explicit emphasis, the Young Men's Christian Association is versatile in the forms of rural service undertaken, but opportunistic rather than philosophic in the choice of them. It is progressive in the search for new methods and devices, but perhaps less so in fundamental thinking. The movement is old enough to have developed a somewhat traditional pattern of leadership, lay and professional—one pretty generally embodying a moderately conservative attitude in religious matters, though an attitude often decidedly progressive when compared with the position of the rural church.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The Young Women's Christian Association is more original, liberal and independent in its expression of religion. Consequently, in local verdicts it is sometimes termed "less religious" than the Young Men's Christian Association. It reflects locally a rather definite reaction from conventional ecclesiastical limitations. In other words, its adherents are not exactly the type of women who chiefly make up prayer meeting and women's missionary society circles. They are more largely drawn from the ranks of economically independent women, a fact which accounts for their somewhat more varied contacts with the world of affairs than a strictly home environment affords. The central problem of development is generally phrased as one of personal adjustment to idealistic ends, with a strong sense that woman has a special version of this problem. Some of the outstanding leaders of the Young Women's Christian Association approve the description of their movement as one of socially minded Christian feminism in which the realization of self and of sex in a world of social responsibility is an indivisible aim. The problem is worked out, characteristically, in an atmosphere of eager spiritual striving which sometimes amounts to agitation. To a considerable degree this attitude towards life is shared by non-professional local leaders and is conveyed more or less fully to girls' groups.

According to the testimony of representative citizens, however, the rank and file of supporters in small communities do not always sense this atmosphere, but are inclined to think of the Young Women's Christian Association as a semi-philanthropic movement to care for poor or bad girls.

BOY SCOUTS

As a local movement the Boy Scouts unquestionably reflect the directness, aggressiveness and naïveté of organized business groups in America, projected into the realm of idealistic endeavor. They appear to cherish a simple and unreflective faith in the value of manly and wholesome activities under forceful leadership of men of average and unpretentious moral standards, who are generous enough to give personal time to the interests of boys and to carry out a program definitely laid down. "Outing is three-fourths of Scouting" impresses one as a slogan coming close to the facts. The character-building influence of the Scout virtues and the values of the specific achievements required for advancement are accepted as obviously good and self-demonstrating. What communities chiefly value in Scouting is the civic aspect of these accomplishments. They are strongly believed to carry over into helpful community life. Scouting, then, appeals to the kind, wholesome, honorable and rather inarticulately reverent man who is blessed with something of an outdoor spirit and is willing to acquire a fixed technique. This ideal, effectively phrased, has vastly impressed the lay mind of America. It has proved especially welcome to educators as a supplement to their rather stilted required programs. It furnishes a simple and intelligible secular ideal which practical men, confident in straightaway promotional methods, can operate and be loyal to. It falls in with an era of organized business idealism and community spirit expressed in the Rotary, Kiwanis and other men's service clubs. Scouting has thus become the vehicle of one of the most impressive movements in behalf of youth measured either by its rapidity of growth or by the breadth of its appeal.

GIRL SCOUTS AND CAMP FIRE GIRLS

Agencies that do not have organization for intensive supervision, numerous local executives or close contacts with contiguous communities have less chance to carry any peculiar atmosphere and emphasis down into individual places. This was found to be true of the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls in the rural areas studied. They had been promoted almost entirely at long range, through literature and general publicity. It is doubtful whether one can fairly trace any particular set of characteristics in the local units of these organizations that were studied. The impression conveyed was that they almost entirely took the color of their individual local leadership and had not very generally developed organizational traits. Possibly the Girl Scouts may be said to appeal to the idealism of professional and publicly active women of a somewhat sophisticated and urbanized type, in contrast with the more domestic and esthetic type to whom the Camp Fire Girls movement is attractive. Possibly the former are rather more democratic in their local groups, and the latter more selective. Both organizations, however, clearly take their idealism more simply and objectively and less intensely and personally than the Young Women's Christian Association. Both lack the tradition of ecclesiastical origins and express themselves rather in civic and social terms. It should not be forgotten, however, that this characteristic has sometimes particularly commended them to churches that are strongly desirous of keeping formal religion directly in their own hands.

JUNIOR EXTENSION CLUBS

Still a different version of secular idealism finds expression in the Junior Extension Clubs in agriculture and the household arts promoted by the U. S. Department of Agriculture and coöperating extension departments of state educational departments. Their keynote is naturally vocational. They count on the character-building significance of associating boys and girls in purposeful activity of a youthful sort. The announced

objective is to develop good rural neighborhoods and good rural neighbors and citizens, but this result is rather taken for granted than striven for by specific technical means. Increasingly, however, the Junior Extension Club is developing an educational technique and appealing to socialized motive. Thus another vision of life in behalf of youth is reaching organized form. So far it has simply assumed the presence of the rural church in country communities and has not formally or consciously become related to it. To some extent, it is true, it draws on the church leadership, but the larger contacts of the Junior Extension Clubs have been with the rural school.

EXTENT OF THE RURAL WORK

The location of the territorially organized rural work of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and of certain rural work of the Boy Scouts is shown by region, states and counties or comparable districts in the Appendix.[5] This is very far, however, from being an adequate geographical statement, since four of the five agencies concerned find half or more of their rural work in scattered units not under close territorial organization. The rural Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls are seldom territorially organized, except incidentally around cities. Of the total number of local units of the agencies in the fifty-three counties which were studied, 46 per cent. were not in intensively organized territory.[6] The agencies, on the other hand, report the particular locations only for their larger territorial units, and none of them tell anything as to the degree of occupancy of their organized territory.

For these reasons no attempt is made to give a complete geographical statement of the total rural work of the agencies. Too much of it is diffused in unorganized areas, and much organized territory was found to be so thinly occupied that to indicate it on a map (say, by coloring) would be to emphasize a fact of little real geographical significance.

The fifty-three sample counties covered by the study included

[5] Appendix VII.
[6] Table V., p. 39.

seven not within the intensively organized territory of any agency. All but one, however, furnished examples of diffused and sporadic work of one or more agencies. Those counted as organized were not organized from the standpoint of all the agencies working in them. The ways in which each was actually organized and the degree to which their communities are occupied is the theme of the next chapter. Its revelations of the variety of methods of occupancy and of the degrees of internal saturation in territory assumed to be occupied prove how much more one needs to know than the bare presence of an agency in a given territory.

Since the agencies have neither entirely defined nor closely located their total rural work, any measurement of it involves a certain element of uncertainty. All the agencies, of course, count members, of whom probably about 330,375 live in places of 10,000 and less. Their distribution by agencies appears in the first column of Table II.[7]

TABLE II—PROPORTION OF EACH AGENCY'S "RURAL"* MEMBERSHIP INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

(53 Counties)

Agency	*Total U.S.A. (Estimated)*	*Members Included in this Investigation*	
		Number	*Per Cent.*
Y.M.C.A.	30,375 †	7,035	23
Boy Scouts	216,000	8,401	4
Y.W.C.A.	33,000	6,832	20
Girl Scouts	26,000	1,990	8
Camp Fire Girls	25,000	1,197	5
Total	330,375	25,455	8

* The term "rural" is used to include all places with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants.
† Members under 21 years of age.

MEMBERS IN SAMPLE TERRITORY

As shown in the second column of Table II, the study found 25,455 young Americans enrolled in the membership of the five

[7] For the method of calculating these results, see Appendix IV., p. 240. It will be observed that relatively a much larger sample of the membership of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association was secured than of the other agencies. Comparable data, however, on a few points (for example, see p. 85) serve to confirm evidence drawn even from the smaller sample, while the relatively large number of cases involved was clearly sufficient to show trends.

national agencies investigated in the fifty-three counties studied. It also found 5,544 boys and girls enrolled in Junior Extension Clubs doing work in agriculture and the rural domestic arts.[8]

How far does this go toward serving rural youth in these counties? The facts are shown comparatively for thirty-three counties in Table IV.[9]

At the most favored age (years 14 and 15) the five agencies are reaching only about 10 per cent. of the total youth population of these counties, and less than 5 per cent. in the next most favored age (years 16 and 17). In the best counties the combined work includes only:

about one-sixth of the population of 10 to 13 years of age
about one-fourth of the population of 14 to 15 years of age
about one-fifth of the population of 16 to 17 years of age
about one-fourteenth of the population of 18 to 20 years of age
about one-sixth of the total youth population of 10 to 20 years of age.

This tabulation does not, of course, measure the more pervasive influence of the agencies nor the incidental but often recurrent ways in which they serve large populations besides members; but it does express the rather narrow limitations of their formal organizations of youth.

In addition, the Junior Extension Clubs reach an average of about 8 per cent. of the total farm youth population in the counties where they exist, the highest percentage reached in a single county being about 16.

WHAT THE SAMPLE PROVES

The preceding paragraphs give the extent of the work for youth carried on in a representative sample of fifty-three counties, in forty-six of which some of the agencies are territorially organized and in all but one of which there is sporadic and unorganized development of their work. Since the estimated

[8] Table III.
[9] P. 37.

total of rural membership of the five agencies is less than one-fortieth of the total rural youth population of the nation (as defined earlier in the chapter) it is obvious that most of the country is not occupied to any such extent.

The memberships of the five agencies in the counties studied constitute, however, nearly 8 per cent. of the estimated combined national membership of the same agencies in communities of 10,000 population and less as shown in Table II, while the membership of the Junior Extension Clubs in the counties studied constitutes about 9 per cent. of the national membership of those clubs as reported by the Department of Agriculture. Thus the samples are relatively large and are amply sufficient to illustrate the prevailing range and average of the facts where the agencies are typically organized.[10]

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

It appears, then, that on the most liberal computation, at least as measured by formal membership, all the agencies combined reach only a few of the potential subjects of character-building activity. The fraction reached by any single agency is trifling indeed, and the best record stops very far short of the ideal, frequently quoted in commendations of the work, namely, to reach "the last boy in the county."

The pervasive influence of this body of work, as already confessed, has not been measured. Its broad area of secondary results may well include some of its major values.

How creditable it is to have reached even so small a proportion of rural youth through formal organization obviously depends upon such issues as:

(1) What did the agencies undertake to do?
(2) How long have they been at it?
(3) Has there been net progress, and at what rate?
(4) How has this progress, if any, compared with the resources available?

[10] For method of selecting the sample counties and discussion of the adequacy of the sample, see Appendix IV., p. 242.

The actual position of the agencies themselves, as it exists on the field, may be generalized as follows: The reaching of "the last boy in the county" is palpably only rhetoric. With present resources, average men cannot do much more than they are doing. The work as a whole is very recent and is still in the experimental stage. Except for a distinct slump following the World War, the rate of progress on the whole is not discouraging. The real function of the agencies is to cast into rural communities the leaven of greater interest in youth, to select available places for service, and where discrimination is necessary, to pick the more promising youth in the hope that they may furnish leadership and support for a larger work in the future.

If the agencies have a good defense in such attitudes, two further questions are at least reasonable:

(1) Should not so small and recent a work be very plastic, teachable and coöperative? Has it any warrant for great self-assurance or dogmatism?

(2) If it is not in position now or at an early date really to undertake a general service to rural youth, and particularly if it is not in position to attempt any far-reaching equalization of privilege and opportunity as between the more and the less favored regions and classes in the country, should it not frankly say so to its supporting constituencies, and base its claims upon reasonable probabilities of achievement?

CHAPTER I, *Continued*

TABLES

TABLE III—JUNIOR EXTENSION WORK*

(19 Counties†)

County	*Number of Communities Organized*	*Number of Clubs*	*Number of Members*
Cumberland, Me.	16	23	284
Barnstable, Mass.	..	28	287
Worcester, Mass.	17	22	175
Hartford, Conn.	14	31	175
Monroe, N. Y.	14	35	613
Orange, N. Y.	15	31	290
Burlington, N. J.	12	31	240
Kent, Del. New Castle, Del.	..	88	738
Spartanburg, S. Car.	12	12	248
Colbert, Ala.	15	15	251
Harlan, Ky.	11	11	235
Harford, Md.	27	57	1,000
Coshocton, Ohio	4	6	155
Fairfield, Ohio	5	9	...
Wyandot, Ohio	..	28	179
Noble, Ind.	7	22	325
Weld, Colo.	..	40	292
Walla Walla, Wash.	4	12	60
Total	173	501	5,547

* Junior Extension Work is a term used by the Government for Boys' and Girls' Agricultural Clubs.

† Tabulable information secured from only nineteen of the fifty-three counties investigated.

TABLE IV—PER CENT. OF YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF ORGANIZED GROUPS OF ANY OF THE AGENCIES *

(33 Counties)

Years of Age

County	*10-13* %	*County*	*14-15* %	*County*	*16-17* %	*County*	*18-20* %	*County*	*Total* %
Harford	0.0	Harford	0.0	Harford	0.0	Harford	0.0	Harford	0.0
Bourbon	0.0	Bourbon	0.0	Bourbon	0.0	Bourbon	0.0	Bourbon	0.0
Colbert	0.0	Colbert	0.0	Colbert	0.0	Colbert	0.0	Colbert	0.0
Shelby	1.4	Coshocton	0.3	Coshocton	0.0	Coshocton	0.0	Coshocton	0.9
Lackawanna	1.4	Lackawanna	1.4	Shelby	0.7	Harlan	0.0	Lackawanna	1.1
Kent, Del.	1.4	Shelby	3.1	Lackawanna	1.0	Shelby	0.0	Shelby	1.3
Kent, Mich.	1.6	Brookings	3.3	Harlan	2.1	Gogebic	0.0	Harlan	2.0
Harlan	2.0	Columbia	5.0	Oneida	2.2	Lackawanna	0.1	Columbia	2.5
Coshocton	2.1	Kent, Mich.	5.1	Polk	2.2	Cumberland	0.2	Kent, Mich.	2.6
Gogebic	2.2	Harlan	5.3	Columbia	2.3	Du Page	0.2	Brookings	2.7
Wyandot	2.4	Kent, Del.	5.6	Gogebic	2.4	Polk	0.3	Gogebic	2.8
Brookings	2.5	Barnes	6.1	Barnes	3.1	Barnes	0.3	Kent, Del.	3.0
Columbia	2.7	Oneida	6.2	Windsor	3.3	Laramie	0.3	Polk	3.4
New Castle	3.1	Monroe	6.3	Monroe	4.0	Monroe	0.3	Oneida	3.5
Cumberland	3.2	New Castle	8.7	Allegan	4.2	Columbia	0.5	Cumberland	3.9
Windsor	3.2	Polk	9.0	Brookings	4.7	Kent, Mich.	0.6	Barnes	4.0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Allegan	3.2	Cumberland	9.1	Laramie	4.8	Allegan	0.8	New Castle	4.0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Polk	3.9	Gogebic	9.4	Cumberland	4.8	New Castle	0.8	Windsor	4.1
Laramie	4.0	Henry	10.3	Kent, Mich.	5.1	Windsor	0.9	Monroe	4.2
Oneida	4.4	Allegan	10.7	New Castle	5.6	Oneida	0.9	Laramie	4.3
Chautauqua	5.0	Laramie	11.3	Kent, Del.	5.7	Wyandot	0.9	Allegan	4.4
Monroe	5.3	Windsor	11.5	Wyandot	7.1	Buena Vista	1.0	Wyandot	4.9
Orange, N. Y.	5.4	Orange, N. Y.	12.5	Orange, N. Y.	8.1	Brookings	1.0	Orange, N. Y.	5.9
Barnes	5.7	Wyandot	12.9	Worcester	9.6	Barnstable	1.3	Worcester	7.5
Worcester	7.1	Worcester	13.1	Barnstable	10.3	Kent, Del.	1.4	Barnstable	8.4
Walworth	7.4	Calhoun	14.4	Walworth	11.4	Orange, N. Y.	1.6	Henry	8.6
Barnstable	8.5	Barnstable	15.4	Henry	11.9	Worcester	1.7	Walworth	8.9
Henry	10.0	Walworth	17.0	Buena Vista	14.5	Gage	2.7	Chautauqua	10.6
Gage	10.3	Chautauqua	21.1	Gage	14.7	Henry	2.7	Calhoun	11.5
Du Page	10.6	Buena Vista	23.7	Chautauqua	19.0	Walworth	3.2	Buena Vista	11.5
Calhoun	10.7	Pinellas	24.0	Calhoun	19.0	Calhoun	4.9	Gage	12.2
Buena Vista	11.0	Du Page	26.2	Pinellas	19.3	Chautauqua	5.5	Du Page	12.8
Pinellas	16.9	Gage	27.1	Du Page	21.2	Pinellas	7.0	Pinellas	16.3

* Tabulable information as to the age of members secured from only thirty-three of the fifty-three counties.

Chapter II

HOW THE AGENCIES OPERATE

As actually encountered in the fifty-three counties studied, character-building work for youth divides sharply into two phases: (1) that under the immediate and intensive supervision of a paid executive as representative of some of the national agencies concerned, and (2) that not under such supervision.

The former generally represents work either undertaken at the initiative of the national agency as a result of its promotional policy or else work later brought under close administrative direction on a territorial basis.

The latter, while bearing the label of some national agency, usually originated locally, is without the intensive supervision of a paid representative of the agency, and is connected with it only through the long-distance relations necessary for recognition and regularity. Of the aggregate occupancies of communities by the agencies in the fifty-three counties studied, 46 per cent. are in territory not now under intensive supervision by the occupying agency. This territory includes about one-third of all organized groups.

This very large fraction of the total work which the national agencies did not "go about" to do at all, but which came to them and goes on without their first-hand cultivation, causes surprise and invites explanation.

Of course, all the agencies broadcast their influence throughout the nation, using both systematic and incidental publicity, in the effort to create and influence situations which they expect practically to profit by in the future. Being national in intention, they cultivate America by far-flung and extensive processes, with incidental results which they recognize as only minor services though of great intrinsic value.

But, as in all such promotional processes, much seed falls by

the wayside, some of which springs up and grows. Literally stated, some individual or local group takes up with the idea of character-building work for boys and girls and starts an organization in the home community. Next the persons interested either make some long-distance connection with the national agencies; or else they go ahead with their own version of such service.

Permeation thus runs ahead of organization. The idea of organized character-building work for youth is much more widely spread than the ability of the agencies to cover the country promotionally and administratively.

DIFFERENCES AMONG AGENCIES

The differences among agencies in this respect are so extreme and striking as to challenge special attention. These differences are not quite exactly indicated by the number of communities now found with or without intensive supervision, since many organizations spontaneously originating have subsequently come under paid supervision. The present data, however, exhibit the same contrast in another way, Table V showing the number of occupancies of incorporated communities in the fifty-three counties by each agency under intensive and without intensive supervision.

TABLE V—TYPE OF SUPERVISION BY AGENCIES IN 225 INCORPORATED PLACES

(53 Counties)

Agency	*Number of Agency Units Organized*	
	Intensively	*Non-intensively*
Y.M.C.A.	96	2
Boy Scouts	41	59
Y.W.C.A.	58	19
Girl Scouts	0	45
Camp Fire Girls	0	41
Total	195	166

This showing suggests that the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls have been least indebted to paid supervision for the spread of their rural work, and the Young Men's Christian

Association most indebted, while the Boy Scouts have been less indebted to supervision than has the Young Women's Christian Association.

The present chapter deals with both phases of extension, as above distinguished. The first section deals with the present territorial organization, which may or may not have resulted from previous permeation by the agencies involved. The second section deals with local communities and studies all the work now found in them, whether territorially organized or not from the standpoint of any given agency. The total constitutes a summary of close-up studies of the attempt of the agencies to insert themselves into rural civilization, and its results measured in terms of organization.

LOCAL TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

As previously stated, local territorial organization, either officially promoted or recognized, is found in forty-six of the fifty-three counties investigated. All but one have sporadic local units, but seven counties are without any national agency promoting rural character-building work on a county or comparable territorial basis.

FORMS OF ORGANIZATION

The county or some comparable district, sometimes larger and sometimes smaller, is usually the primary unit of supervision. Other methods of supervision are, however, employed; such as (1) the formal partnership of some city organization with a neighboring rural territorial organization; (2) the incidental but continuous extension of city supervisory functions to adjoining rural populations; and (3) special and temporary forms of supervision by state or larger district officials. The distribution of these types of organization appears in Table VI.

It is necessary to recognize intensive supervision under all these aspects in order to do justice to the actual rural work of the agencies. In the enumeration, the report has been generous as to what constitutes such supervision in any given case.

TABLE VI—TYPE OF INTENSIVE SUPERVISION BY AGENCIES IN ORGANIZED AREAS

Agency	Total Number of Geographical Units	Type of Organization: Regular County	County and City Functioning Coöperatively	District	Incidental Extension of City Work	Special Forms of Intensive Supervision
Y.M.C.A.	31	28	3	0	0	0
Boy Scouts	25	13	0	7	5	0
Y.W.C.A.	17	12	1	1	2	1
Girl Scouts	6	0	0	1	5	0
Federations or Councils of Churches	5	0	0	1	2	2
Councils of Religious Education or Sunday School Associations	4	3	0	1	0	0
Total	88	56	4	11	14	3

FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF ORGANIZATION

The study deals in special detail with seventy-seven territorially organized units for intensive supervision of four national agencies—fifty-four serving boys and men and twenty-three serving girls and women. They are divided among the major agencies as shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII—NUMBER PER COUNTY OF THE FOUR AGENCIES HAVING COUNTY ORGANIZATION

(45 Counties)

Agencies per County	Number of Counties	Number of Agencies: Y.M.C.A.	Boy Scouts	Y.W.C.A.	Girl Scouts	Total Boys	Total Girls	Total
1	22	14	4	3	1	18	4	22
2	16	10	12	9	1	22	10	32
3	5	5	5	3	2	10	5	15
4	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	8
Total	45	31	23	17	6	54	23	77

Five Councils of Churches and four county Sunday School Associations or Councils of Religious Education were also studied, and two counties each had two distinct territorial organizations of the same agency. This accounts for the eighty-eight units classified in the previous table. No territorial organization of the Camp Fire Girls in rural territory was encountered in the fifty-three counties.

With a single exception, the mark of intensive supervision was the presence of a paid executive or other special supervisor, who in all but two cases gave full time to the work. As between the agencies, while the county unit predominates in all, the following differences were observed: the Young Men's Christian Association almost always has a county unit, while the Boy Scouts show almost as many cases of distinct or of incidental city expansion as of county units. The Young Women's Christian Association distributes its types of organization through all of the methods of geographical occupancy.

In twenty-two of the counties studied only one national organization was present, while twenty-three had two or more, thus affording illuminating opportunity for the study of relationships between agencies in the same field.

ORIGINS OF COUNTY ORGANIZATION

Nearly two-thirds of the county or comparable district organizations were said locally to have originated in national promotional activities, and in more than 80 per cent. of these cases such activities appeared to have been virtually the sole originating factor.[1] This is to say, the communities studied had not been conscious of any general demand in advance and looked upon the agencies as having come in from outside; although there may have been and doubtless often were solicitations from individuals asking them to enter the field.

The next most important factor was the effort to conserve work which had previously grown up spontaneously or with only indirect stimulation. In other words, it was organization stepping in to conserve the results of permeation. More than

[1] Table IX.

for any other agency, the territory organized intensively by the Boy Scouts has been that in which independent troops had already developed to a large degree.[2]

The Young Women's Christian Association, on the other hand, shows distinct traces of the philanthropic motive in the choice of territory. It has often gone where there was conspicuous need but no previous demand. With the Young Men's Christian Association territorial organization has been almost entirely a matter of deliberate expansion. These differences are strikingly shown in Table X.

In cases where a local invitation to a national agency was the originating influence in county organization it is of great interest to ask who in particular undertook to act in behalf of the county. The cases in evidence are too few for statistical exactness. The initiative, however, appears most frequently to have been undertaken by some one previously active in the work elsewhere. Next in frequency comes the initiative of a Rotary or similar club, one located, for example, in a county seat whose national overhead organization has a recognized department of boys' work. This has been particularly true in relation to the Boy Scouts. War Work Councils appear as the originating factor in a number of cases, and colleges in others. In a few cases a county was the home of a national or state official of one of the agencies, who in these cases took the first step.

In but one case—that of a federation of women's clubs—did an existing county organization, as such, act to bring another agency into the county.

METHODS AND DEGREE OF LOCAL COÖPERATION

Upon careful investigation, the degree of consultation with local agencies prior to organization was judged adequate in not

[2] In 1923 the Boy Scouts had a total of 13,499 troops "under council" that is to say, under intensive supervision, and 6,655 troops not under council. Of the former, however, 677 did not enjoy paid supervision (*Thirteenth Annual Report*, p. 150). No separate report is made for rural troops. The Councils, however, are primarily located in cities. Probably half or more of the rural troops, therefore, are not under council, which shows that their origin was generally not intensively promoted.

more than half of the cases studied.[3] The initial local demand was more often slight than pronounced;[4] and public approval at the time of organization generally not decisive.[5] Frequently, even the local leaders of independent units of work of the very agencies themselves did not welcome its more intensive organization under a paid executive, and sometimes their opposition was intense and pronounced.

In fourteen cases more or less extensive but apparently accurate surveys were made prior to territorial organization. These surveys necessarily showed what was demonstrated in the first chapter; namely, that relatively few young people are reached by all the agencies combined. What they often failed to yield was any reasonable criterion of occupancy or direct evidence as to the practical desirability of additional organization.

Few territorial organizations received initial financial assistance from the outside—beyond the salary and expenses of the temporary organizer. Financially speaking, they had to find local backing before they started in order to start at all. In that sense, in virtually all cases, organization had to depend upon genuine local support. The theoretical question, whether it is better to make a start if one can, even with limited backing, expecting to "sell" the community as a whole by means of a going program, or to "sell" it more adequately in advance, does not appear to be settled by the data. Certainly many communities do not feel that they were well "sold" in advance, and have come later to resent it.

RECENCY OF THE WORK AS A WHOLE

Three-fourths of all the agencies in the counties studied were organized not earlier than the last year of the World War.[6] The median age is between four and five years, a fact which suggests obvious caution to any inclination to judge the work as a finished product.

---

[3] Table X.
[4] Table XI.
[5] Table XII.
[6] Table XIII.

ORGANIZATION IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The study now turns to organization in local communities as found in the fifty-three counties investigated, recalling that 46 per cent. of the time these local communities are outside of the area of intensive territorial supervision of the particular agencies involved.

THE OCCUPANCY OF INCORPORATED PLACES

Of the 385 incorporated places in the fifty-three counties studied, 225, or 58.4 per cent., have one or more organized units of the five national agencies located in them.

The total number of occupancies in the 225 incorporated places in which any agency was present was 361, an average of 1.6 per occupied place. If no place had had more than one agency, only 6 per cent. would have been without any; but so many had more than one that 42 per cent. were actually without any at all. These facts measure the duplication of agencies, which, as will later be shown, exists chiefly in the larger places.

TABLE VIII—DEGREE OF OCCUPANCY BY EACH AGENCY OF PLACES HAVING FEWER THAN 10,000 INHABITANTS

(53 Counties)

Agency	*Number of Agency Units in Incorporated Places*	*Per Cent. of Agency's Units*	
		In Total Number of Incorporated Places *	*In Incorporated Places Occupied by One or More Agency* *
Y.M.C.A.	98	25.4	43.5
Boy Scouts	100	26.0	44.5
Y.W.C.A.	77	20.0	34.2
Girl Scouts	45	11.7	20.0
Camp Fire Girls	41	10.6	18.2

* The total number of incorporated places in the 53 counties is 385; the number occupied by one or more agency is 225.

The number of local organizations of each agency which make up the 361 aggregate occupancies in 225 incorporated places is shown in the first column of Table VIII. The second column shows what per cent. of the 385 incorporated places

in the fifty-three counties is occupied by each agency, while the third column shows in what per cent. of the 225 occupied places each agency is found.

OCCUPANCY OF NON-INCORPORATED PLACES

Of the 415 communities occupied 225, or 54.2 per cent., were incorporated, and 190, or 45.8 per cent., non-incorporated. The non-incorporated are especially frequent in the vicinity of cities where they out-number the incorporated places occupied. In other words, such places are primarily suburban rather than rural. Thirty-two per cent. of the non-incorporated places, however, are located in rural counties and appear to be essentially open-country communities.[7]

TOTAL OCCUPANCY OF COMMUNITIES

In the grand total of 415 occupied places an aggregate of 619 occupancies by the five national agencies were included, of which 23 per cent. are open-country places. Of these latter, however, more than half are so under the shadow of cities that they must be classified as at least semi-suburban.

The distribution of these occupancies between the agencies appears in Table IX.

TABLE IX—NUMBER OF INCORPORATED AND NON-INCORPORATED PLACES OCCUPIED BY THE AGENCIES

(53 Counties)

Agency	*Agency Units in Places*		*Total*
	Incorporated	*Non-incorporated*	
Y.M.C.A.	98	69	167
Boy Scouts	100	79	179
Y.W.C.A.	77	71	148
Girl Scouts	45	19	64
Camp Fire Girls	41	20	61

SUMMARY

Territory intensively organized by the agencies covers little of the area of the nation and includes but few of its total

[7] Table XV.

number of young people. In typical areas organized by one or more agencies, however, slightly more than one-half of all communities of any size are occupied by local units of some agency, either as the result of permeation or of deliberate promotion. Whether and how far their distribution is equitable is the theme of the next chapter.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

Of more general questions which suggest themselves the most natural is: What of the unoccupied communities? Considering the two methods by which agencies have spread in the rural field, namely, by permeation and by deliberate organization, and their limited development by both combined, one is led to ask:

(1) Which method is likely to get farthest and to go fastest in the future?

It is not known how exactly the counties studied are representative of the total occupied territory of the nation in respect to the origins of the work. What is known is that 90 per cent. of Boy Scout troops in towns of 1,000 population and less were not "under council" in 1922; that the Young Women's Christian Association reports as many members of detached Girl Reserve groups as it has in all groups in territory formally organized by the town and country department; and that most of the rural work of the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls has no intensive supervision. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that, so far, permeation has been a more important principle of extension than deliberate organization.

So far as communities of less than 2,500 population are concerned (other than suburbs) it is almost certain that the unpromoted work of the agencies has hitherto been more important than all the promoted work.

(2) Have the agencies been giving proper attention to methods of permeation coming short of intensive organization and supervision, and to their approach to local communities?

It will take a very long time at best to get around to the organization of all rural communities under national auspices even if there were no losses and no principle of diminishing returns involved. Might not more local communities be

brought to organize voluntarily if the idea of service for boys and girls were still more generally broadcast throughout the nation, and if such service (rather than strict conformity to a given method) were made the test of value?

(3) The question arises whether the two methods get somewhat comparable results. What does close organization furnish which permeation by sporadic units does not? Are the greater advantages of the former policy such that the major stress should be laid upon it, even if in consequence many communities are left unoccupied?

TABLES

TABLE X—ORIGINS OF 62 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Originating Influence

Agency	*Deliberate Territorial Expansion*	*Follow-up of Work Originating Locally*	*Extension of City Work*	*Initiative in Local Invitation*	*Initiative in Local Areal Organization*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A.						
Factor present	20	0	0	1	1	22
Single factor	20	0	0	1	0	21
Contributing factor .	0	0	0	0	1	1
Boy Scouts						
Factor present	9	10	1	4	0	24
Single factor	4	5	1	0	0	10
Contributing factor .	5	5	0	4	0	14
Y.W.C.A.						
Factor present	8	3	0	4	1	16
Single factor	8	2	0	2	1	13
Contributing factor .	0	1	0	2	0	3
Totals						
Factor present	37	13	1	9	2	62
Single factor	32	7	1	3	1	44
Contributing factor .	5	6	0	6	1	18

* Includes comparable district organizations.

TABLE XI—AMOUNT OF CONSULTATION PRECEDING 27 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	*Number of Cases*	*Amount of Consultation*	
		Full	*Partial*
Y.M.C.A.	14	6	8
Boy Scouts	6	2	4
Y.W.C.A.	7	6	1
Total	27	14	13

* Includes comparable district organizations.

TABLE XII—CHARACTER OF SPECIFIC DEMAND FOR 28 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	Number of Cases	Character of Specific Demand	
		Slight	Strong
Y.M.C.A.	11	7	4
Boy Scouts	8	5	3
Y.W.C.A.	9	5	4
Total	28	17	11

* Includes comparable district organizations.

TABLE XIII—DEGREE OF PUBLIC APPROVAL OF 39 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	Number of Cases	Degree of Public Approval		
		Strong	Medium	Weak
Y.M.C.A.	20	7	4	9
Boy Scouts	9	6	1	2
Y.W.C.A.	10	1	2	7
Total	39	14	7	18

* Includes comparable district organizations.

TABLE XIV—AGE OF 66 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	Number of Cases	Date of Establishment of Oldest Organization Studied	Median Age
Y.M.C.A.	31	1901	7 years
Boy Scouts	21	1913	3 "
Y.W.C.A.	14	1910	6 "

* Includes comparable district organizations.

TABLE XV—NUMBER OF PLACES OCCUPIED BY ANY OF THE AGENCIES IN COUNTIES CLASSIFIED BY CONCENTRATION OF POPULATION

(53 Counties)

Type of Population Distribution	Places Occupied		Total
	Incorporated	Non-incorporated	
Concentrated counties (urban)	108	130	238
Non-concentrated counties (rural)	117	60	177
Total	225	190	415

Chapter III

EFFECT OF STARTING WITH TOWNS AND CITIES

The rural work of the national character-building agencies is not located in the most typically rural areas in proportion to the distribution of population as between these areas and others less distinctively rural.

Of the total population of the United States living in places of 10,000 and under, over 72 per cent. lives outside of incorporated places of even as much as 500 population. In the twenty-nine most distinctively rural counties, of the fifty-three studied, slightly over two-thirds of the population live outside of incorporated places of 500 population and over. Even these counties are thus shown not to be typically rural;[1] while the other twenty-four either include or adjoin cities or other heavy concentration of population, and thus depart radically from the ordinary rural type.

In view of the history and major interests of the national agencies, as already discovered, to start with towns and cities was a perfectly natural and perhaps an inevitable course,[2] and might even have proved strategic from the standpoint of the rural work. Centers exist to start from. The basic assumption of the work has always been that it shall be manned and supported locally. Larger places naturally have the greater capacity to do these things for themselves, and are more likely to be willing to undertake them.

To these natural tendencies, however, is to be added the fact that some of the agencies have never deliberately undertaken to do rural work. Their ideas and methods have permeated rural communities to some extent and they have recognized

[1] Table XIX.

[2] The city department of the Young Men's Christian Association includes 77 per cent. of the organization's present work and large segments of the work of other departments are urban.

sporadic units as locally organized. But they have never set before their eyes a mental picture of the country boy and girl, largely living in farm homes, as a goal of their efforts, to be sought by strong and consistent promotional policies. On the contrary, their policies have fallen in with a natural tendency to stay near the city, and they have made no adequate attempt to correct this tendency in the interest of equal opportunity for country children. Even the organizations which have most clearly visualized rural youth as specific objects of endeavor have been still more conscious of their town cousins.

UNEQUAL DIFFUSION OF ORGANIZATION

The facts bearing upon this situation, as discovered in the fifty-three counties studied, are as follows:

(1) In the occupied counties (which, as seen above, are not typically rural), the more radically rural population is not served proportionately to its numbers. Tested by number of organized communities this statement appears at first not to be true. In the fifty-three counties 57 per cent. of the population located outside of places of 10,000 and over lives in the open country or in places of 500 population or less. This 57 per cent. of population is served by 53 per cent. of the organizations—a relatively slight disadvantage. But, as will be demonstrated in a later paragraph, this seeming equality is largely due to the service of suburban populations living in unincorporated, but by no means rural, places adjacent to cities. In the twenty-nine predominantly rural counties, while nearly two-thirds of the population is radically rural, only a little more than one-third of the organizations are found to be operating [3] for this population.

(2) The smaller incorporated places are relatively neglected. The proportion of incorporated places which are occupied by the agencies ranges from 30.3 per cent. for places of less than 500 population to 85.2 per cent. for places of 2,500 to 5,000 population—the trend being strongly to the occupancy of the larger places. Only three out of ten communities of less than

[3] Tables XV, XVIII and XIX.

500 population are occupied compared with eight out of ten in communities of 2,500 to 10,000. These figures are shown in greater detail in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI—SIZE OF INCORPORATED PLACES HAVING FEWER THAN 10,000 INHABITANTS OCCUPIED BY ANY OF THE AGENCIES

(53 Counties)

Size of Incorp. Place	*Total Number of Incorp. Places*	*Places Occupied*	
		Number	*Per Cent.*
Under 500	99	30	30.3
500 to 1,000	107	66	61.7
1,000 to 2,500	94	61	64.9
2,500 to 5,000	54	46	85.2
5,000 to 10,000	31	22	71.0
Total	385	225	58.4

Of the agencies, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Camp Fire Girls show the greatest affinity for places of less than 1,000 population and the Girl Scouts the least.[4]

The smaller places get better attention in rural counties and fare worse in the vicinity of cities.[5]

(3) Work in suburbs is relatively overdone. Twenty-four out of the fifty-three counties studied have concentrated populations, chiefly about cities.[6] In these counties, about six out of every ten occupied communities are definitely suburban. Where the choice existed, the agencies have conspicuously not chosen to turn their main attention to strictly rural communities. Within strictly metropolitan areas no blame need attach to this decision. The suburban phase of work is fruitful and important, as evidenced by the relatively large proportion of incorporated American communities which belong to this class.[7]

Again, those types of agriculture that produce food for immediate consumption in cities have created large farming populations living on small acreages in their near vicinities. This suburban farming population offers a genuine though peculiar

[4] Table XX.
[5] Table XXI.
[6] Table XXII.
[7] Table XXIII.

field for rural service, which, however, should be kept distinct in thought, plans and statistical accounting from the ordinary rural work of the agencies. It seems particularly unfair to lead supporters primarily to visualize rural community service when so much of the work is under the shadow of cities and with people whose lives are largely modified by such proximity.

(4) The least needy places, on the whole, are most frequently organized. The larger places, to which the agencies so strongly tend, are already more highly developed and better provided with community resources, though the number and variety of social agencies do not fully keep pace with increase of population.[8]

Other social agencies ministering to youth are themselves more numerous and adequate in the very communities where the character-building agencies for youth are most frequent and successful. That is to say, the national agencies function chiefly where it is easiest for them and not where they are most needed. To a very considerable extent the town church and the small city church already have specific subsidiary organizations to meet the needs of the various age and sex groups to which they especially appeal, as is shown by Table XVII.

TABLE XVII—COMPARATIVE FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIED SUBSIDIARY CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS IN VARIOUS TYPES OF RURAL AND SMALL CITY COMMUNITIES

Organization	*Churches in*			
	Open Country %	*Village* %	*Town* %	*Small City* %
Some Subsidiary Organizations besides Sunday School	52	79	93	100
Women's Organization	42	70	87	100
More than one Women's Organization	17	21	44	90
Mixed-sex Organizations (usually Young People's)	25	47	67	66
More than one Mixed-sex Organization	5	14	37	0
Men's Organization	2	5*	10	55
Boys' Organization	1	6*	15*	11
Girls' Organization	3	8*	20	33

* Less than 1 per cent. have more than one.

[8] Tables XXIV and XXV.

In suburban territory particularly—other than in the poorest industrial suburbs where the agencies may still find large opportunity for service—social overorganization is a recognized phenomenon. Considering the available resources of the adjacent city, the polite suburbs undoubtedly present the greatest wealth of social privilege as well as the largest number of competitive appeals to its constructive forces.[9]

(5) Duplication and rivalry of agencies is greater in the larger places and particularly near cities. Of the 225 incorporated places occupied, one hundred have but one agency each, and places of less than 500 population rarely have more than one. Duplicatory occupancy increases directly as the size of the community, two agencies occurring twice as often as one in places of 2,500 to 5,000 population, and four times as often as one in places of 5,000 to 10,000 population.[10]

Duplicatory occupancy to the extent of three or four agencies per community is relatively much more frequent in the vicinity of cities. Half of all incorporated places in rural counties have only one agency, while 60 per cent. in counties surrounding cities have more than one.[11]

Twenty-eight per cent. of the duplicatory agencies are potentially competitive; that is to say, they involve two or more boys' or two or more girls' organizations in the same community. Such a situation, in rural communities, usually means rivalry for members, leadership or financial support, or for all three. The frequency of competition increases with the size of the community and reaches an average of one-third in the vicinity of cities. Both duplication and competition are especially acute in places of 2,500 population and over.[12]

(6) Intensive supervision is not favorable to the wide diffusion of local organization. Some of the occupied communities are under intensive supervision, others not. This makes it possible to compare the two with a view to discovering the effects of supervision. The greater control of organization implied in intensive supervision has not made for the spread of

9 Douglass, *The Suburban Trend* (Century Co.), pp. 185 f. and 197-198.
10 Table XXIV.
11 Table XXVI.
12 Tables XXIV and XXVII.

the work to smaller communities. Rather it tends definitely to the occupancy of larger places.[13] A volunteer may start a Scout troop or other boys' or girls' organization where it will not occur to a paid worker to go, and such work can apparently maintain itself where supervision does not easily reach.[14] The paid executive has to think of convenience of communication; of adequate local leadership; of developing financial resources. He also thinks of numbers; of making a good showing. Consequently, other things being equal, he naturally cultivates the larger places.

SUMMARY

Perhaps the most effective way to express the actual proportions of the work of the town and country departments and the parallel work of the other agencies would be to print the word "town" in very large capitals and the word "country" in very small letters. It would be still more accurate to describe this field as currently occupied by the agencies as "the suburban, town and country field." There should undoubtedly be suburban and town aspects of character-building work for youth. Perhaps the term "rural" should be abandoned as applied to the present work, since the proportion which is rural in any radical sense is relatively small.

Moreover, the claim of territorial occupancy is extremely misleading. The typical organized county is not occupied solidly. There are decided gaps in organization of the larger places as well as vast empty stretches among the smaller ones.

FURTHER PROBLEMS

Carrying forward problems sensed in previous chapters, one must ask again:

(1) How far could permeation be made to reach into totally unoccupied communities if it were energetically promoted by means coming short of intensive resident supervision?

[13] Table XXVIII.
[14] Table XXIX.

(2) Can the multitude of very small places ever hope to be reached by organization? Must they not depend permanently upon permeation?

(3) Do the present towns and rural cities reach out normally into the open country? Might they not at least produce organization in rural neighborhoods which are part of the larger communities of which they are centers?

(4) Has national administration ever fairly faced the problem of the very small and open-country communities?

(5) In view of the large number of unoccupied communities in the best developed of counties, and the very unequal diffusion of the work, what shall one feel and say about the duplication and rivalry in organization which exist in other places?

TABLES

TABLE XVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF THE RURAL AND SMALL CITY POPULATION IN THE 53 COUNTIES COMPARED WITH ITS DISTRIBUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

Type of Place	*United States Population* No.	No.	%	*53 Counties Population* No.	No.	%
Farm population in places under 2,500		31,358,640	51.4		735,735	32.4
* Other open country		12,888,342	21.2		558,220	24.6
Incorporated places from						
† 500 to 1,000	3,450	2,447,626	4.0	178	122,814	5.4
† 1,000 to 2,500	3,028	4,711,409	7.7	148	227,086	10.0
‡ 2,500 to 5,000	1,320	4,593,953	7.5	85	295,628	13.0
‡ 5,000 to 10,000	721	4,997,794	8.2	47	328,162	14.6
Total		60,997,764	100.0		2,267,645	100.0

* Includes all incorporated places of less than 500 of which there are 6,427 according to J. Walter Thompson, *Distribution of Population.*
† J. Walter Thompson.
‡ Fourteenth U. S. Census.

TABLE XIX—DISTRIBUTION OF THE RURAL AND SMALL CITY POPULATION IN 29 COUNTIES HAVING NON-CONCENTRATED POPULATIONS COMPARED WITH ITS DISTRIBUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

Type of Place	*United States Population* Number	Per Cent.	*29 Counties Population* Number	Per Cent.
Farm population in places under 2,500	31,358,640	51.4	357,973	44.8
* Other open country	12,888,342	21.2	145,812	18.2
Incorporated places from				
500 to 1,000	2,447,626	4.0	51,554	6.4
1,000 to 2,500	4,711,409	7.7	78,389	9.8
2,500 to 5,000	4,593,953	7.5	97,696	12.2
5,000 to 10,000	4,997,794	8.2	68,627	8.6
Total	60,997,764	100.0	800,051	100.0

* Includes all incorporated places of less than 500 of which there are 6,427 according to J. Walter Thompson, *Distribution of Population.*

TABLE XX—DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE OF ALL INCORPORATED PLACES OF FEWER THAN 10,000 INHABITANTS COMPARED WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF AGENCIES IN THOSE PLACES

(53 Counties)

Size of Incorp. Place	All Incorporated Places		Incorporated Places Occupied by Agencies											
			Y.M.C.A.		Boy Scouts		Y.W.C.A.		Girl Scouts		Camp Fire Girls		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 500	99	25.7	7	7.1	6	6.0	8	10.4	4	8.9	5	12.2	30	13.3
500 to 1,000	107	27.8	26	26.4	26	26.0	23	29.8	7	15.6	12	29.3	66	29.3
1,000 to 2,500	94	24.4	27	27.7	29	29.0	20	26.0	13	28.9	17	41.5	61	27.1
2,500 to 5,000	54	14.0	26	26.4	21	21.0	17	22.1	13	28.9	6	14.6	46	20.5
5,000 to 10,000	31	8.1	12	12.4	18	18.0	9	11.7	8	17.7	1	2.4	22	9.8
Total	385	100.0	98	100.0	100	100.0	77	100.0	45	100.0	41	100.0	225	100.0

TABLE XXI—PROPORTION OF PLACES OF VARYING SIZE OCCUPIED BY ANY OF THE AGENCIES IN COUNTIES CLASSIFIED BY CONCENTRATION OF POPULATION

(53 Counties)

Size of Incorp. Place	*Population* *Concentrated (Urban)* %	*Non-Concentrated (Rural)* %
Under 500	23.6	38.7
500 to 1,000	59.5	63.1
1,000 to 2,500	60.5	71.7
2,500 to 5,000	85.6	84.6
5,000 to 10,000	66.7	80.0
Total	54.3	62.9

TABLE XXII—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN COUNTIES CLASSIFIED BY CONCENTRATION OF POPULATION

(53 Counties)

Counties	*Number*		*Counties*	*Number*	
Concentrated (Urban)	24		Not concentrated (Rural)	29	
Around cities	16		Diffused	25	
Large		11	Unified by centers		13
Small		5	Not unified by centers		12
Around mining	2		Defined physiographically	4	
Around water (Irrigation)	6				

TABLE XXIII—DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE OF THE INCORPORATED PLACES IN THE UNITED STATES SUBURBAN TO CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION AND OVER

Size of Incorp. Places	*Total Number of Incorp. Places*	*Suburban Places* *Number*	*Per Cent.*
500 to 1,000	3,450	165	5
1,000 to 2,500	3,028	324	11
2,500 to 5,000	1,320	216	15
5,000 to 10,000	721	152	21
10,000 to 25,000	459	102	22
25,000 to 100,000	219	66	30

TABLE XXIV—NUMBER OF INCORPORATED PLACES OF VARYING SIZE HAVING SPECIFIED NUMBER OF AGENCIES

(53 Counties)

Size of Incorp. Place	*Total Places Occupied*	*Agencies per Place*			
		One	*Two*	*Three*	*Four*
Under 500	29	26	3	0	0
500 to 1,000	63	36	23	4	0
1,000 to 2,500	64	24	30	9	1
2,500 to 5,000	47	11	21	13	2
5,000 to 10,000	22	3	13	4	2
Total	225	100	90	30	5

TABLE XXV—AVERAGE NUMBER OF "OTHER SOCIAL AGENCIES" IN SUBURBAN AND NON-SUBURBAN PLACES OF VARYING SIZE

(53 Counties)

Size of Incorp. Place	*Average Number of Social Agencies*	
	Non-Suburban	*Suburban*
Under 500	7	5
500 to 1,000	12	8
1,000 to 2,500	13	13
2,500 to 5,000	25	23
5,000 to 10,000	37	31

TABLE XXVI—DISTRIBUTION OF PLACES IN COUNTIES WITH CONCENTRATED AND NON-CONCENTRATED POPULATIONS HAVING SPECIFIED NUMBER OF AGENCIES

Counties	*Total Places Occupied*	*Agencies per Community*							
		One		*Two*		*Three*		*Four*	
		No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
With Concentrated Populations (Urban)	109	43	39.4	44	40.4	19	17.4	3	2.8
With Non-Concentrated Populations (Rural)	116	57	49.1	46	39.7	11	9.5	2	1.7
Total	225	100	44.5	90	40.0	30	13.3	5	2.2

TABLE XXVII—NUMBER OF INCORPORATED PLACES OF VARYING SIZE HAVING COMPETITIVE AND NON-COMPETITIVE UNITS OF THE AGENCIES

(53 Counties)

Size of Incorp. Place	*Number of Agencies per Place*			
Non-Competitive Places	*One Boys'*	*One Girls'*	*One Boys' and One Girls'*	*Total*
Under 500	13	13	3	29
Concentrated Counties	3	8	2	13
Non-Concentrated Counties	10	5	1	16
500 to 1,000	27	9	18	54
Concentrated Counties	10	4	8	22
Non-Concentrated Counties	17	5	10	32
1,000 to 2,500	18	6	20	44
Concentrated Counties	8	4	10	22
Non-Concentrated Counties	10	2	10	22
2,500 to 5,000	8	3	12	23
Concentrated Counties	4	0	6	10
Non-Concentrated Counties	4	3	6	13
5,000 to 10,000	3	0	9	12
Concentrated Counties	2	0	3	5
Non-Concentrated Counties	1	0	6	7
Totals	69	31	62	162
Concentrated Counties (Urban)	27	16	29	72
Non-Concentrated Counties (Rural)	42	15	33	90

Competitive Places	*Two Boys'*	*Two Girls'*	*Two Boys' and One Girls'*	*Two Girls' and One Boys'*	*Two Boys' and Two Girls'*	*Total*
500 to 1,000	3	2	4	0	0	9
Concentrated Counties	0	0	2	0	0	2
Non-Concentrated Counties	3	2	2	0	0	7
1,000 to 2,500	9	1	6	3	1	20
Concentrated Counties	4	0	3	3	1	11
Non-Concentrated Counties	5	1	3	0	0	9
2,500 to 5,000	9	0	11	2	2	24
Concentrated Counties	8	0	6	1	1	16
Non-Concentrated Counties	1	0	5	1	1	8
5,000 to 10,000	4	0	4	0	2	10
Concentrated Counties	3	0	4	0	1	8
Non-Concentrated Counties	1	0	0	0	1	2
Totals	25	3	25	5	5	63
Concentrated Counties	15	0	15	4	3	37
Non-Concentrated Counties	10	3	10	1	2	26

TABLE XXVIII—DISTRIBUTION, BY SIZE OF PLACE, OF AGENCY UNITS UNDER INTENSIVE AND NON-INTENSIVE SUPERVISION

Size of Incorp. Place	*Supervision*	
	Intensive	*Non-Intensive*
Under 500	7.1	9.6
500 to 1,000	26.2	25.9
1,000 to 2,500	26.2	33.1
2,500 to 5,000	25.1	20.5
5,000 to 10,000	15.4	10.9
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE XXIX—DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE OF PLACES OF BOY SCOUT UNITS UNDER INTENSIVE AND NON-INTENSIVE SUPERVISION

Size of Incorp. Place	*Supervision*			
	Intensive		*Non-Intensive*	
	Number	*Per Cent.*	*Number*	*Per Cent.*
Under 500	0	0.0	6	10.2
500 to 1,000	10	24.4	16	27.1
1,000 to 2,500	12	29.2	17	28.8
2,500 to 5,000	9	22.0	12	20.4
5,000 to 10,000	10	24.4	8	13.5
Total	41	100.0	59	100.0

Chapter IV

TAKING ROOT IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

The report now enters its second phase. Up to this point it has been studying the data primarily from the standpoint of the initiating national agencies. It now turns to consider the same data from the standpoint of the responsive communities. The work has now become local. Whether present through intensive territorial organization or not, the national agencies are presumed to be no more than helpful partners. Responsibility now primarily rests with the home folks.

The specific subjects of investigation become, therefore, the groups and members which constitute the local units of organization and character-building effort. In the 415 occupied communities, as already noted, an aggregate total of 619 occupancies by the five national agencies was found. But the agencies generally have more than one organized unit in a community. The total actually discovered was 1,268 groups, an average of over two per community, with 25,455 members.

The average size of the organized group ranges from thirteen members for the Camp Fire Girls to twenty-eight for the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Association and Boy Scouts average being twenty and twenty-two respectively. Unsupervised groups tend to be larger than officially supervised ones. Girls' groups average smaller than boys'.[1] Junior Extension Clubs are likely to have about ten members on the average.

By what processes did these organizations become rooted in the 415 communities, and what are they like now that they have been naturalized there?

[1] Tables XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV. These tables show the distribution of the units and members studied by agency and by geographical region; and should have careful attention. For the ratio of the membership sample to the total membership of the agencies, see p. 32.

ORIGINS AND DURATION

Since organization in so many of the occupied communities was the result of their permeation by the idea of work for boys and girls rather than of direct and deliberate promotion by the agencies, the question of the origins of local units is a separate one from that of the origins of promotional organizations. Local testimony was sought on this point. According to this testimony, almost exactly half of the present local units were started by some private individual, most frequently a minister or educator, who, however, generally acted on his own responsibility rather than formally in behalf of his church or school. Forty-three per cent. only of the units were started by paid representatives of the agencies entering the community officially in their promotional work. Formal action of local groups and organizations—such as Women's Clubs, Rotary or Kiwanis organizations—originated the remaining units.

DIFFERENCES AMONG AGENCIES

The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, which alone of the five agencies have special "rural" departments, were generally organized by paid representatives, while the Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls originated almost exclusively with local communities themselves, as the Boy Scouts did in about four-fifths of the cases.[2]

LAPSED LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

The practical problem of organization is, however, not so much one of getting started as of keeping alive. For the five agencies studied, there was found one dead organization for every three living ones. The difference among agencies was very great in this respect, the ratio of dead organizations in the territory studied being eight and four-tenths to ten living ones for the Camp Fire Girls, but only one and four-tenths to ten for the Young Women's Christian Association.[3]

---

[2] Table XXXVI.
[3] Table XXXVII.

The life of the lapsed units was most frequently one or two years. Less than one-twelfth of the total survived five years. Intensive supervision was not found to add to their longevity.[4]

HISTORY OF LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

This bare enumeration of lapsed and living organizations only records the net results of an interesting process of organizational ups and downs and ins and outs which has been traced fairly completely in just one hundred cases for the decade 1913-1924. The results are summarized in Table XXX.

TABLE XXX—PERMANENCE OF AGENCIES, 1913-1924

(100 Cases)

	Agencies		
	Boys'	*Girls'*	*Total*
Communities with one agency for same sex			
Number having—			
Continuous existence	2	4	6
Lapse and reorganization after interval	18	2	20
Permanent lapse	2	1	3
Total	22	7	29
Communities with two agencies for same sex			
Number having—			
Successive organization	17	20	37
Lapse of first followed after interval by second	*11*	*15*	*26*
Lapse of first followed immediately by second	*6*	*5*	*11*
Overlapping organization	23	11	34
First comer survived	*4*	*4*	*8*
Second comer survived	*1*	*1*	*2*
Both survive	*17*	*6*	*23*
Both lapsed	*1*	*0*	*1*
Total	40	31	71

Twenty-nine of these communities had never had more than one agency for a given sex during the period studied. Very few of their organizations, however, had had continuous existence. The prevailing tendency is toward lapses and reorgani-

[4] Table XXXVIII. It should be noted that the data on which this table is based are not sufficient in amount to warrant the conclusion that this generalization applies to every one of the agencies.

zations again after an interval, though the ratio of permanent lapses is smaller than in communities where competitive agencies were present.

Lapse is thus no warrant for assuming the permanent death of organization. Indeed it is so frequent as to suggest something almost normal. Organizations in small communities die down, are revived and die again. Cases appeared in which such alternations were repeated sometimes as often as four times during the decade, even when no rival agency was present to affect the situation.

Seventy of the one hundred communities studied had two agencies during some part of the decade, and there was a single case of three agencies. These cases yielded an almost exactly equal number of examples of successive and of overlapping organization.

In case of successive organization, an interval usually occurred between the lapse of the first agency and the organization of a second. In nearly one-third of the cases, however, such organization followed immediately. The field study revealed a considerable number of instances in which rival agencies confessed that they were closely watching the fortunes of local groups of other agencies, ready to pounce upon the community at the first opportunity.

With overlapping organizations, both agencies had survived (up to the date of the study) in twenty-three out of thirty-three cases. When one of the rivals succumbed it was usually the second comer. The rather slender data give little encouragement to the agency that would try to supplant another which is still in existence.

Comparing the twenty cases in which lapse was followed by a revival of the same agency with the thirty-seven in which a different agency came in, one is impelled to wonder why the tendency to change the auspices of character-building work is so much greater than the tendency to continue under old auspices.

The above generalization necessarily omits many of the complicating facts of the decade of organizational history. Thus, in reporting the number of duplicatory organizations in the

same community which still survive, the table fails to show that more than one-fifth of these have had their own lapses and revivals during the period. But this is no higher a rate of lapse and revival than when there is no duplication.

Again, there have been numerous unsuccessful attempts to revive lapsed units which the data do not show.

Finally, the accounting is only in terms of communities. The Boy Scouts, for example, may have several troops in the community, but if any troop has survived for the decade its organization is counted as continuous, though many troops may have been lost for good. The impermanence of the separate units is thus much greater than that of the community organization.

DURATION AS AFFECTED BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

The average life of the local unit tends to be considerably longer in larger communities than in smaller ones, as is shown by Table XXXI.

TABLE XXXI—LENGTH OF LIFE OF 232 LAPSED UNITS OF THE AGENCIES IN PLACES OF VARYING SIZE

Size of Place	*No. of Cases*	*Length of Life in Years*			
		Under 2	*2–3*	*4–5*	*Over 5*
		No.	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*
Under 250	22	13	7	2	0
250 to 500	52	25	23	3	1
500 to 1,000	65	28	19	12	6
1,000 to 2,500	59	21	25	11	2
2,500 to 10,000	34	10	16	5	3

The facts revealed may presumably be explained by the larger supply of boys and girls, the greater amount of available leadership and generally by the more ship-shape conduct of social institutions in the larger places. They tend to emphasize the greater need and handicap of the smaller ones.

AGE OF LIVING UNITS

Most of the work of the agencies found by the study was of recent origin, 268 out of 579 units reporting on this point being less than two years old.[5] This means that it is just getting

[5] Table XXXIX.

under way. The normal life span of this new crop of organizations is by no means settled. In view, however, of the large proportion of the lapsed ones and their brief existence in the past, the prospect of long life for the living units is not to be taken for granted. Supervision, backing and the other forces of conservation may, in the future, greatly increase longevity, but they have not yet proved that they can do so.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ORGANIZED GROUPS

What are the 25,455 boys and girls like who were found in groups of twenty on the average under the label and the organized influence of the agencies?

AGE TENDENCIES

More than two-thirds of the membership of the five agencies, as determined by 9,295 cases reported in Table XXXI, for the counties studied, were between ten and fifteen years of age, and of this group the great majority were between the ages of twelve and fifteen. The two Scout organizations have the largest proportion of young members and the two Christian Associations of older ones. Boys' organizations have more young members than girls'.

TABLE XXXII—DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF 9,295 MEMBERS THE AGENCIES

(22 Counties)

Agency	No. of Members	Per Cent. Distribution by Years of Age 10–13	14–15	16–17	18–20	Total 10–20
Y.M.C.A.	1,930	25.4	32.0	33.6	9.0	100.0
Boy Scouts	3,402	44.0	38.1	15.8	2.1	100.0
Total Boys'	5,332	37.2	35.9	22.3	4.6	100.0
Y.W.C.A.	2,266	29.4	32.6	27.6	10.4	100.0
Girl Scouts	955	45.6	37.1	15.2	2.1	100.0
Camp Fire Girls	742	19.8	38.9	29.6	11.7	100.0
Total Girls'	3,963	31.5	34.8	25.0	8.7	100.0
Total Agencies	9,295	34.8	35.5	23.4	6.3	100.0

All told, about seventy out of every one hundred members of the combined agencies are under sixteen years of age. Later adolescence is very little served.

ENVIRONMENTAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS

Nearly one-fourth of the entire number of members are from farm homes, the agencies which have definite "rural" and "town and country" departments having relatively more from this source.[6] This is a significant proportion. It includes, of course, the children of many suburban farmers; also those who belong to school groups located outside of their home communities. On the other hand, it means that three-fourths of those reached by so-called "rural" work are not from farm homes.

The average attendance at the stated meetings of organized groups is nearly three-fourths of the membership—a better record than that of the rural Sunday school.[7]

Eighty-six per cent. of the combined membership under sixteen years of age is also enrolled in Sunday school, showing that in these years the agencies are largely dealing with the same boys and girls as the church.[8] Sixty-one per cent. of their members over sixteen are also church members,[9] showing that with later adolescence the agencies and the church more largely supplement one another, each securing some adherents where the other fails.

Neither church nor agencies are strong with later adolescence. They largely fail to hold the young man and woman.

DEGREE OF ADVANCEMENT OF MEMBERS

Sixty-one per cent. of the Boy Scouts, 73 per cent. of the Girl Scouts[10] and 83 per cent. of the Camp Fire Girls were in the lowest rank of the respective organizations ("tenderfeet,"

---

[6] Table XL.
[7] Table XLI.
[8] Table XLII.
[9] Table XLIII.
[10] Table XLIV.

etc.).[11] The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association groups are not usually organized by "degrees" of advancement based on definite requirements. Forty-one per cent. of the Young Men's Christian Association members were, however, in Grammar School groups.[12] None of the agencies except the Young Women's Christian Association have to do primarily with members who have reached the high-school stage of education.[13]

About one-fourth of the membership of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association consists of young men or women employed in business or industry. This is due to special stress on the organization of these classes in a limited number of counties.

The fact that most of the agencies do not reckon advancement by comparable stages makes it important to study them individually in the appended tables.[14]

EFFECTS OF SUPERVISION

As shown in the tables, there are relatively more group members from farm homes [15] and more church members among the older group members in supervised than in unsupervised territory; [16] but there are fewer younger group members in Sunday school,[17] less steady attendance [18] and a slighter degree of average advancement of members, in agencies where this factor can be traced.[19]

No explanation of these facts occurs. Probably the average organization is so young that supervision has not had time to work out any consistent effects.

---

11 Table XLV.
12 Table XLVI.
13 Table XLVII.
14 Tables XLIV to XLVII inclusive.
15 Table XL.
16 Table XLIII.
17 Table XLII.
18 Table XLI.
19 Table XLIV.

SUMMARY

The impression left by this series of data is that the local work of the agencies is not very deep-rooted nor permanent. It is not, on the whole, continuously influential with individuals, nor is it very successful in advancing them through the degrees recognized by the respective agencies. On the other hand, the very unevenness of the results confronts one with an impressive spectacle of continuous local demand and persistence. The starting of the work has not depended primarily on paid representatives of the agencies nor have they conspicuously served to keep it alive. As it dies down and reappears—often under another label—it exhibits strange versatility and vitality. What seems to be evidenced is a deep instinct to serve youth coupled with uncertainty and inadequacy of means.

FURTHER PROBLEMS

Before passing judgment on these conclusions attention should be given to a number of questions whose answers lie beyond the data.

(1) For example, what degree of continuity in local units should be expected in view of the small amount of available human material for membership in the lesser rural communities? There are simply not enough boys and girls there to furnish a new group instantly when the old one has outgrown a given phase of organization.[20] Repeatedly the field investigators were told, "No, we have no Scouts now—but we shall have as soon as we can grow another lot."

(2) May not the very brief average life span of the local organization have partly a psychological explanation? Organized youth-groups often, perhaps normally, originate in or evolve into gangs. Gangs integrate and dissolve according to mental and social processes which may have been intended by nature to be brief. May not the lapse of an organization even in two or three years sometimes mean that it has done its work for one group and must wait for another to appear?

(3) May not the "jobbing around" of communities to find another similar agency under which to organize its youth

[20] See Table XXX.

when a former one has lapsed be merely the evidence of inadequate psychology? No one wants to attempt to carry on a failure. Lapse is taken to mean failure. Consequently the tendency is to "try something new." While doubtless this should teach the agencies that no one of them is indispensable, does it not, partially at least, turn the record of apparent impermanency into the story of a somewhat continuous quest for something more satisfactory in behalf of youth, even though the quest often takes impatient and unreasonable forms?

(4) Does not the relative failure of the total work to reach older adolescents point the need of special effort in their behalf?

(5) What agency in the community can supply the element of continuity in the character-building process which the national agencies (so far) so conspicuously lack? Must it be left to the chief sponsoring agencies, church and school, or somehow to the community at large?

(6) Should not the methods of accounting used by the national agencies reveal and keep before the imagination the phenomena of waxing and waning as the previous data have displayed them? Reports from territorial organizations to their national headquarters now generally deal only with net results. If there is a gain in the total number of organized units and members, questions are not asked about how many losses there were. Church statistics, which are poor enough, do better than this, reporting losses as well as gains. Do not the agencies need to deal more frankly and courageously with themselves and their constituencies as to lapses, discontinuity and brevity of influence, acknowledging the worst but putting a more adequate interpretation upon the total facts?

TABLES

TABLE XXXIII—NUMBER OF ORGANIZED GROUPS OF THE AGENCIES CLASSIFIED BY REGION AND BY TYPE OF SUPERVISION

(53 Counties)

Agency and Type of Supervision	*Region*				
	Northeast	*South*	*North Central*	*West*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A.	142	3	114	106	365
Intensive	*142*	*1*	*113*	*106*	*362*
Non-Intensive	*0*	*2*	*1*	*0*	*3*
Boy Scouts	183	45	81	116	425
Intensive	*106*	*28*	*38*	*105*	*277*
Non-Intensive	*77*	*17*	*43*	*11*	*148*
Y.W.C.A.	103	38	62	47	250
Intensive	*90*	*38*	*44*	*43*	*215*
Non-Intensive	*13*	*0*	*18*	*4*	*35*
Girl Scouts	64	8	30	26	128
Intensive	*0*	*0*	*0*	*10*	*10*
Non-Intensive	*64*	*8*	*30*	*16*	*118*
Camp Fire Girls	27	3	41	29	100
Totals	519	97	328	324	1,268
Intensive	*338*	*67*	*195*	*264*	*864*
Non-Intensive	*181*	*30*	*133*	*60*	*404*

TABLE XXXIV—NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF ORGANIZED GROUPS OF THE AGENCIES CLASSIFIED BY REGION AND BY TYPE OF SUPERVISION

(53 Counties)

Agency and Type of Supervision	*Region*				
	Northeast	*South*	*North Central*	*West*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A.	3,504	25	1,998	1,508	7,035
Intensive	*3,504*	*7*	*1,984*	*1,508*	*7,003*
Non-Intensive	*0*	*18*	*14*	*0*	*32*
Boy Scouts	3,484	639	1,695	2,583	8,401
Intensive	*2,130*	*357*	*803*	*2,341*	*5,631*
Non-Intensive	*1,354*	*282*	*892*	*242*	*2,770*
Y.W.C.A.	2,210	836	2,233	1,553	6,832
Intensive	*1,972*	*836*	*1,517*	*1,464*	*5,789*
Non-Intensive	*238*	*0*	*716*	*89*	*1,043*
Girl Scouts	995	101	521	373	1,990
Intensive	*0*	*0*	*0*	*135*	*135*
Non-Intensive	*995*	*101*	*521*	*238*	*1,855*
Camp Fire Girls	314	42	423	418	1,197
Totals	10,507	1,643	6,870	6,435	25,455
Intensive	*7,606*	*1,200*	*4,304*	*5,448*	*18,558*
Non-Intensive	*2,901*	*443*	*2,566*	*987*	*6,897*

TABLE XXXV—AVERAGE SIZE OF ORGANIZED GROUPS OF THE AGENCIES CLASSIFIED BY REGION AND BY TYPE OF SUPERVISION

(53 Counties)

Agency and Type of Supervision	*Region* Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
Y.M.C.A.	25	12	18	15	20
Intensive	*25*	*7*	*18*	*15*	*20*
Non-Intensive	*0*	*18*	*14*	*0*	*16*
Boy Scouts	23	16	21	14	22
Intensive	*22*	*15*	*21*	*22*	*21*
Non-Intensive	*25*	*19*	*21*	*22*	*23*
Y.W.C.A.	22	22	36	33	28
Intensive	*22*	*22*	*34*	*34*	*27*
Non-Intensive	*18*	*0*	*39*	*22*	*30*
Girl Scouts	20	17	19	14	18
Intensive	*0*	*0*	*0*	*14*	*14*
Non-Intensive	*20*	*17*	*19*	*15*	*20*
Camp Fire Girls	14	14	12	15	13
Totals	23	19	22	20	21
Intensive	*23*	*19*	*22*	*21*	*22*
Non-Intensive	*21*	*18*	*21*	*17*	*20*

TABLE XXXVI—DISTRIBUTION OF LOCAL AND AGENCY INITIATIVE IN STARTING 495 LOCAL UNITS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency and Type of Supervision	*No. of Cases*	*Per Cent. Distribution of Responsibility* Local: Individual	Local: Group	Local: Other Organization	Agency
Y.M.C.A.	113	8.8	0.0	0.0	91.2
Boy Scouts	177	70.1	0.5	9.6	19.8
Intensive	*115*	*60.9*	*0.0*	*9.5*	*29.6*
Non-Intensive	*62*	*87.1*	*1.6*	*9.7*	*1.6*
Y.W.C.A.	102	24.5	2.0	4.9	68.6
Intensive	*81*	*11.1*	*1.2*	*5.0*	*82.7*
Non-Intensive	*21*	*76.2*	*4.8*	*4.8*	*14.2*
Girl Scouts	47	80.9	2.1	12.8	4.2
Camp Fire Girls	56	82.1	7.1	5.4	5.4
Total	495	49.1	1.6	6.3	43.0

TABLE XXXVII—RATIO OF LAPSED TO LIVING UNITS OF THE AGENCIES

Agency	*No. of Living Units*	*Lapsed Units*	
		Number	*Per Cent.*
Y.M.C.A.	365	79	22
Boy Scouts	425	170	40
Y.W.C.A.	250	36	14
Girl Scouts	128	32	25
Camp Fire Girls	100	76	76
Total	1,268	393	31

TABLE XXXVIII—LENGTH OF LIFE OF 227 LAPSED UNITS OF THE AGENCIES IN INTENSIVELY SUPERVISED AND NON-INTENSIVELY SUPERVISED AREAS

Length of Life (Years)	*Agency and Type of Supervision*									
	Y.M.C.A.		*Boy Scouts*		*Y.W.C.A.*		*Girl Scouts*	*Camp Fire Girls*	*Total*	
	Intensive	*Non-Intensive*	*Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*
Under 1	1	0	2	13	2	0	0	7	5	20
1 to 2	13	0	4	28	2	2	4	18	19	52
2 to 3	6	1	1	28	6	0	5	10	13	44
3 to 4	3	0	2	17	0	0	0	6	5	23
4 to 5	1	0	1	13	1	0	1	9	3	23
5 to 6	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	2	1	7
6 to 7	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	4
7 to 8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
8 to 9	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
9 to 10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
10 to 11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
14 to 15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	27	1	11	108	11	2	11	56	49	178

TABLE XXXIX—DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT OF 579 ORGANIZED GROUPS OF THE AGENCIES

Date of Establishment	*Agency*					
	Y.M.C.A.	*Boy Scouts*	*Y.W.C.A.*	*Girl Scouts*	*Camp Fire Girls*	*Total*
1907	1	0	0	0	0	1
1908	1	1	1	0	0	3
1909	2	0	0	0	0	2
1910	1	4	0	0	0	5
1911	0	1	0	0	0	1
1912	0	4	0	0	1	5
1913	2	4	2	0	0	8
1914	1	4	0	0	0	5
1915	1	11	2	1	1	16
1916	3	7	2	1	2	15
1917	1	8	3	1	3	16
1918	7	5	7	3	3	25
1919	12	17	14	2	10	55
1920	12	15	24	13	7	71
1921	8	24	27	10	14	83
1922	12	39	29	27	17	124
1923	22	72	10	13	23	140
1924	..	3	0	1	0	4
Total	86	219	121	72	81	579

TABLE XL—PROPORTION OF AGENCY MEMBERS FROM FARM FAMILIES

Agency and Type of Supervision	*Per Cent.*
Y.M.C.A.	29.3
Intensive	*29.4*
Non-Intensive	*7.1*
Boy Scouts	17.4
Intensive	*18.2*
Non-Intensive	*15.7*
Total Boys'	22.5
Intensive	*24.8*
Non-Intensive	*15.6*
Y.W.C.A.	29.6
Intensive	*30.9*
Non-Intensive	*25.9*
Girl Scouts (Non-Intensive)	19.2
Camp Fire Girls	23.4
Total Girls	25.3
Intensive	*30.9*
Non-Intensive	*22.1*
Total Agencies	23.4
Intensive	*26.0*
Non-Intensive	*19.2*

TABLE XLI—RATIO OF ATTENDANCE TO ENROLLMENT AT MEETINGS OF LOCAL UNITS OF THE AGENCIES

Agency and Type of Supervision	*Per Cent.*
Y.M.C.A.	74.5
Intensive	*74.5*
Non-Intensive	*78.6*
Boy Scouts	78.5
Intensive	*77.3*
Non-Intensive	*79.0*
Total Boys'	76.5
Intensive	*75.3*
Non-Intensive	*79.0*
Y.W.C.A.	65.0
Intensive	*64.9*
Non-Intensive	*65.2*
Girl Scouts (Non-Intensive)	80.0
Camp Fire Girls	85.0
Total Girls'	69.7
Intensive	*64.9*
Non-Intensive	*78.7*
Total Agencies	73.3
Intensive	*70.2*
Non-Intensive	*78.9*

TABLE XLII—PROPORTION OF AGENCY MEMBERS UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE WHO ARE SUNDAY-SCHOOL PUPILS

Agency and Type of Supervision	*Per Cent.*
Y.M.C.A.	80.4
Intensive	*80.7*
Non-Intensive	*100.0*
Boy Scouts	85.6
Intensive	*84.0*
Non-Intensive	*87.0*
Total Boys'	84.0
Intensive	*82.2*
Non-Intensive	*87.0*

Y.W.C.A.	87.2
Intensive	*86.6*
Non-Intensive	*90.7*
Girl Scouts (Non-Intensive)	96.8
Camp Fire Girls	90.8
Total Girls'	90.7
Intensive	*86.6*
Non-Intensive	*93.9*
Total Agencies	86.7
Intensive	*83.6*
Non-Intensive	*90.2*

TABLE XLIII—PROPORTION OF AGENCY MEMBERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER WHO ARE CHURCH-MEMBERS

Agency and Type of Supervision	*Per Cent.*
Y.M.C.A.	56.7
Intensive	*56.1*
Non-Intensive	*100.0*
Boy Scouts	54.5
Intensive	*43.7*
Non-Intensive	*64.0*
Total Boys'	56.0
Intensive	*53.6*
Non-Intensive	*65.4*
Y.W.C.A.	70.0
Intensive	*74.6*
Non-Intensive	*56.0*
Girl Scouts (Non-Intensive)	56.1
Camp Fire Girls	54.7
Total Girls'	65.9
Intensive	*74.6*
Non-Intensive	*55.5*
Total Agencies	61.1
Intensive	*62.5*
Non-Intensive	*58.3*

TABLE XLIV—DISTRIBUTION BY RANK OF 5,189 BOY SCOUTS AND 686 GIRL SCOUTS

Agency and Type of Supervision	*Rank*								*Total*	
	Tenderfeet		*2nd Class*		*1st Class*		*Eagles, etc.*			
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Boy Scouts	3,180	61.3	1,406	27.1	577	11.1	26	0.5	5,189	100.0
Intensive	*2,029*	*65.1*	*778*	*25.0*	*293*	*9.4*	*15*	*0.5*	*3,115*	*100.0*
Non-Intensive	*1,151*	*55.5*	*628*	*30.3*	*284*	*13.7*	*11*	*0.5*	*2,074*	*100.0*
Girl Scouts (Non-Intensive)	503	73.3	181	26.4	2	0.3	0	0.0	686	100.0

TABLE XLV—DISTRIBUTION BY RANK OF 686 GIRL SCOUTS AND 359 CAMP FIRE GIRLS

Girl Scouts		*Camp Fire Girls*	
Rank	*Per Cent.*	*Rank*	*Per Cent.*
Tenderfeet	73.3	Woodgatherers	83.5
2nd Class	26.4	Fire Makers	13.4
1st Class	0.3	Torch Bearers	3.1
Total	100.0	Total	100.0

TABLE XLVI—DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF 5,984 MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Type	*Number*	*Per Cent.*
Grammar school groups	2,495	41.7
"Hi Y" groups	2,119	35.4
Industrial boys	1,082	18.1
Young men	288	4.8
Total	5,984	100.0

TABLE XLVII—DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF 4,134 MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION IN 11 INTENSIVELY SUPERVISED COUNTIES COMPARED WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MEMBERS IN THE TOWN AND COUNTRY DEPARTMENT

Type	*Field Study Results*		*Headquarters Data*
	Number	*Per Cent.*	*Per Cent.*
Grade school groups	1,144	27.6	21.8
High school Girl Reserves	2,110	51.1	51.6
Business girls' groups	829	20.1	21.4
Industrial girls' groups	51	1.2	5.2
Total	4,134	100.0	100.0

Chapter V

HOW COMMUNITIES MAKE THE WORK THEIR OWN

Any agency new to a community can, of course, get into it permanently only by securing a local group of supporters and members. Once organized, however, such a group is usually organizationally self-sufficient. It may belong to some national movement, follow its rules and customs and even receive financial aid, but its members are regarded as competent to conduct their own affairs, generally to become legally incorporated and largely to support their enterprise financially.

Nationally organized work for youth, on the contrary, presents special problems, because its members are not administratively nor economically self-sufficient. They are under the control of their elders; and agencies coming in from outside of the community feel that they have to lodge responsibility in adult hands.[1]

In local communities there are alternative solutions of this problem. One way is to create a special adult organization to care for the work for youth, generally organized on a county or territorial basis; the second is to attach the work to some existing organization.

ADULT MEMBERSHIPS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The above statement ignores differences among the agencies in announced policy and constitutional method, and somewhat simplifies the facts as to formal adult organization. The reason for not carrying the study into more exact discrimination on this point was as follows:

[1] There are of course many spontaneous organizations of youth, revealing its genius for and need of group recognition and discipline. These, though sometimes encountered in the field investigation, were, however, outside of the scope of the study.

Almost nowhere in local communities was there found a body of adult members which was self-conscious and continuously active. Of financial subscribers, who professed interest in the agencies' work, there were plenty. Frequently they were technically members. But their existence made no discernible practical difference as between the agency which professed to have them and the one which did not. The vital factors in the situation were always (a) the youth group, (b) the small number of voluntary leaders, officers and active workers, (c) the professional worker or executive, and then either the general supporting public or some particular sponsoring agency. The attitude of the subscribers usually was: "I suppose I belong. I pay." But of further duties or privileges they knew nothing.

To the above statement a few exceptions are to be noted, especially in a county or two where adult activities or "community work" had received some development. There were also independent "Y's" in several of the small cities studied, with their members and membership privileges; but with these exceptions adult membership presented nothing tangible.[2]

---

2 The failure of the study to find more vital significance in adult membership has been somewhat challenged by some of the agencies. A formal criticism of the report by Miss Henrietta Roelofs, Executive of the Rural Communities Department of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, February 21, 1925, states the matter as follows: "A slight recognition is given to the fact that the Girl Reserves are a part of a larger membership organization, locally and nationally, but the objective study revealed so little evidence of the vitality of this membership (except for finance cultivation) that it seemed legitimate to disregard it for the purposes of this study. We agree that in certain county and district Associations, the Association might be described as girls' club work, but we are inclined to believe that the relation of our adolescent work to the adult work is so vital that to ignore it might lead to erroneous deductions. This relation conditions the program of the youth movement and in particular does it condition the educational process.

. . . . . .

"Even though these ideas are on paper more than in practice, the fact that we can see a great advance in the practice during the very short period of our life in rural areas gives us hope that the ideas are valid and will grow. For that reason, does not the relation of the Young Women's Christian Association youth groups to the indigenous institutions and to the community itself take on a different character than the relation of the . . . to the indigenous agencies?"

The author of the report can only answer that on the whole and up to date he does not think it does, though it may possibly do so in the future. It is true, however, that the Young Women's Christian Association has the largest proportion of unsponsored local organizations. This doubtless reflects its effort to develop and depend on its own adult members.

RELATION TO EXISTING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Even in territory under most intensive supervision, where agencies have built up complete machinery of their own with distinct local adult memberships, they are tied into the existing institutions of the community in many ways. Where, on the other hand, intensive supervision is absent, the local units of the agencies are in the main subsidiary interests and activities of churches, schools and community clubs. This section presents the results of a detailed investigation of their relationships with such local organizations.

From the standpoint of the investigation the significant thing is not whether a local unit has or has not the formal sponsorship of some community agency to the extent that it is chartered or officially recognized in such relationship. The vital question is whether the unit is identified in the minds of the community with a local agency. The community knows that it is an expression of a national organization, and is acquainted with its special activities, its personal leadership and most influential supporters; but does the community at the same time think of the local unit as belonging or appertaining to some one of its own institutions?

This criterion has to be adopted rather than that of formal sponsorship, because, while some of the agencies generally seek to have their units formally adopted by local institutions, others do not.

The problem of the field investigators in seeking a vital definition of sponsorship is shown in the following illustration. The rural Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations are largely related to high-school students. Two very dissimilar situations with respect to the school as an institution may, however, present themselves. The "Hi Y" or Girl Reserves may be recognized by the administration as one of its own school activities. Room may be made for it in the school building and an hour granted it on the school schedule. Continuous publicity may be given it, and leadership and facilities furnished, and it may publicly receive official backing. Or it

may merely be tolerated because it is a well-intended effort, because the community expects the school to back constructive movements for young people and because this is a free country anyhow.

The community understands such distinctions very well indeed. In the one case, the school is the sponsor of the local unit, no matter whether the concept of sponsorship is admitted or not. In the other, it is not sponsor, although its relation is still specific and important.

Most of the local units of the agencies are identified in the minds of their communities with some established local organization in one or more of three ways: (1) by meeting in its building; (2) by habitually looking to it for leadership; or finally (3) by formal or virtual sponsorship.

PLACES OF MEETING

Only 6.5 per cent. of all units own or control buildings of their own. These are chiefly "Y" buildings in the larger centers classified by the report as rural, or else inexpensive Scout cabins. Churches and school houses furnish meeting places for virtually two-thirds of the total, and private homes for one-tenth. The Camp Fire Girls show the greatest tendency to meet in private homes. Because so many of their local organizations are school groups the two Christian Associations make relatively larger use of school plants, but about 40 per cent. of Young Men's Christian Association and Boy Scout units meet in churches.[3] Public or semi-public buildings, other than church and school, provide for somewhat more than one-tenth of the total groups. In a small number of cases units of other organizations meet in Young Men's Christian Association or Young Women's Christian Association buildings.

[3] Table XLVIII. The above data for the rural units in territory studied may be compared with the report of housing of all Boy Scout troops in 1921 (*Twelfth Annual Boy Scout Report*, p. 140). The distribution of places of meeting among those most frequently reported was: Home, 2.3 per cent.; community hall or semi-public building, 6.4 per cent.; public building, 11.6 per cent.; school, 20.5 per cent.; church, 50 per cent. It is interesting that the church is more largely used in the total work of the Boy Scouts than it is in the rural work.

This almost universal dependence of rural work for youth upon indigenous organizations for its housing and facilities emphasizes its characteristic lack of equipment and the strength of its relationship to the community; but as a result of this dependence obvious problems frequently arise out of the destructiveness of youth and the inappropriateness of the available buildings for the kind of activities involved.

LEADERS

According to local testimony, 38 per cent. of the local leaders are not specifically identified with any particular organization in their respective communities. The rest are popularly understood to hold their positions as representatives of some fostering organization. Thus a Scout troop may meet in a church but not actually or ostensibly draw its scoutmaster from the church. Generally, however, leadership is traceable to some recognized source of major responsibility and interest. About one-fourth of all leaders are locally understood to be from church sources and one-third from school sources. Naturally the agencies which try to develop adult membership organizations of their own are less inclined to take a leader popularly associated with some already existing organization. In smaller places the Boy Scouts now strongly tend to develop "community troops" which try to emphasize their independence from the limitations of existing agencies.[4]

SPONSORSHIP

Only 32 per cent. of all local units are not under any locally recognized sponsorship by other local organizations, either formally or in popular understanding. Church sponsorship is more frequent than acknowledged church leadership, but less frequent than the use of the church as a meeting place. About one-third of all local units are known as "church" groups. The proportion of these was found rapidly increasing with the Young Men's Christian Association. Acknowledged school

[4] Table XLIX.

sponsorship is 17 per cent. of the total, being much less frequent than school leadership or the use of the schoolhouse as a meeting place. This is easily explained as the result of the hesitancy of the school, as a public institution, to commit itself formally to any non-traditional educational activity.

Commercial clubs, men's service clubs (Rotary, Kiwanis, etc.) and lodges appear as minor sponsoring agencies, but much less frequently as furnishing personal leadership or as places of meeting.

Lodges, which are very frequent in rural communities, often have their own junior degrees or departments and are thus not given to much patronage of the agencies under discussion. Women's clubs do not appear to have functioned as sponsors of girls' work as frequently as might have been expected.[5] Some of them substitute their own forms of junior organization.

By these several means of attachment to adult local organizations, boys' and girls' organizations constituting units of national agencies have attempted to acquire, and have been brought into, community standing. Most of them, as has been seen, originated from influences already existent within the communities. These are some of the ways in which they have actually naturalized themselves and become part of the community habit and tradition.

PROPERTY OF COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS

Somewhat similar phenomena reflect the naturalization of county organizations of the character-building agencies in their headquarters communities. Equipment for rural work on a county or district basis is characteristically simple for all the agencies. It consists typically of an office of one or two rooms, the very few exceptions being occasional Young Men's Christian Association local buildings or Young Women's Christian Association cafeterias, rest rooms and girls' homes.[6]

Coöperation, amounting to strong approval and quasi-spon-

[5] Table LII.
[6] Table L.

sorship or formal support, is evidenced in frequent provision of offices on semi-philanthropic terms, either by public or by other social agencies, the latter frequently being a town or city branch of the same national organization to which the unit assisted belongs.

Camping is the single function generally provided with some equipment. Camp property is quite generally controlled by the agencies in their own names, but most often is leased or shared with other counties or districts rather than owned or operated separately.[7]

With the exception of those for camping, the facilities used are almost always either those of sponsoring organizations, or public facilities, such as school gymnasiums or parks and playgrounds.

SUMMARY

In order to give substantial local expression to organized work for youth, its control is uniformly placed in adult hands. Though actively functioning local memberships were so rarely found as to be negligible, in nearly one-third of the local units special groups of leaders and backers had developed in local communities without recognized attachment to any existing organization. In more than two-thirds of the cases, however, some indigenous organization actually fosters and is regarded as primarily responsible for the youth-group. This relationship includes both formal sponsorship as officially practiced by some agencies and virtual adoption which is the frequent practice of others. Of the fostering and sponsoring agencies the church and school are chief. Through such relationships communities habitually make work bearing national labels their own.

DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS

(1) How can sponsorship avoid sectarianism and competition? It is an obvious advantage to get some strongly indigenous expression of community life to become responsibly related to character-building work with boys and girls. But this relationship has certain weaknesses as well as obvious strength. It is notorious that many of the organizations of

[7] Table LI.

small communities are bitterly competitive. If a sponsoring agency appeals to only part of the community (as in the case of a sectarian church or rival lodge), being under its auspices may exclude some of the boys or girls whom the national agency most desires to reach.

The agencies have often been made aware that their local partners are using them divisively—not in the interest of the boys and girls of the community but merely to get a local advantage for one institution over against another. For this reason all have a proper aversion for narrow sponsorship, especially in small communities. Some do not officially recognize sponsorship at all, and all feel the burden of the problem of how to get into the local community without being part of its petty rivalries.

(2) Is the difficulty solved by the organization of special constituencies? Some of the agencies argue stoutly that it is part of their service to such divided communities to organize adult units bearing their own label, but with a community-wide point of view, which will conduct the work on broad and non-sectarian lines. Of course, this is exactly what many a denominational church argues. The study simply did not find communities—except occasional small ones—accepting this theory. The typical reaction was to regard the new national organization as just another rival interest. While all forms of control of the work from outside the community were now and again resented, the effort of a national agency to promote a functioning adult membership was most fundamentally objected to.[8]

(3) Even if the last statement is true, may not a national agency need to create a formal and highly organized special constituency in order to insure the quality of its results? A church, for example, that holds that it possesses the only truth whereby men may be saved, generally feels justified in pressing in wherever it can, no matter what the consequence to communities. Some of the agencies take very seriously the subtler differences and alleged superiorities discussed in the Preface; and while none would admit to holding the theory just illustrated, some are keenly convinced of the very great importance of their particular vision of life in behalf of youth. One of the deepest issues encountered by the study is how to adjust such tendencies to the existing facts and ideals of indigenous community development. How rural communities and national agencies can agree to work together is still largely an unsolved problem.

---

8 See Chapter IX, p. 130.

TABLE XLVIII—PLACES OF MEETING OF 603 LOCAL UNITS OF THE AGENCIES

Per Cent. Distribution by Place of Meeting

Agency and Type of Supervision	*No. of Cases*	*Private House*	*Church*	*School*	*Town Hall or Public Building*	*Community or Semi-Public Building*	*American Legion Hall*	*Own Building*	*Privately Owned Building*	*Library*	*Factory*	*Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A. Building*	*Other*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A. ..... (Intensive)	162	2.5	41.4	37.0	3.7	1.8	0.0	5.6	5.6	1.2	1.2	(See "Own Building")	0.0	100.0
Boy Scouts	192	4.7	40.1	20.3	6.8	7.3	3.7	4.2	7.8	0.5	0.5	3.1	1.0	100.0
Intensive	*129*	*3.9*	*41.1*	*19.4*	*8.5*	*7.8*	*3.1*	*4.7*	*7.8*	*0.0*	*0.7*	*2.3*	*0.0*	*100.0*
Non-Intensive ...	*63*	*6.3*	*38.1*	*22.2*	*3.2*	*6.3*	*4.8*	*3.2*	*7.9*	*1.6*	*0.0*	*4.8*	*1.6*	*100.0*
Y.W.C.A.	145	7.6	9.7	57.9	1.4	7.6	0.0	15.1	0.0	0.0	0.7	(See "Own Building")	0.0	100.0
Intensive	*125*	*8.0*	*9.6*	*55.2*	*0.8*	*8.0*	*0.0*	*17.6*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.8*	"	*0.0*	*100.0*
Non-Intensive ...	*20*	*5.0*	*10.0*	*75.0*	*5.0*	*5.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	"	*0.0*	*100.0*
Girl Scouts ..... (Non-Intensive)	53	20.8	20.8	35.8	5.7	3.7	1.9	0.0	5.7	3.7	0.0	1.9	0.0	100.0
Camp Fire Girls ...	51	60.7	9.8	25.5	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total 603		10.9	28.9	35.7	4.1	5.1	1.3	6.5	4.5	0.8	0.7	1.2	0.3	100.0

TABLE XLIX—SOURCES OF LEADERSHIP OF 382 LOCAL UNITS OF THE AGENCIES

Per Cent. Distribution by Source of Leadership

Agency and Type of Supervision	*No. of Cases*	*Church*	*School*	*"Community"*	*Industry*	*Ouiside Community*	*Other*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A. (Intensive)	74	21.6	54.1	21.6	0.0	2.7	0.0	100.0
Boy Scouts	136	34.6	11.8	49.3	2.9	0.7	0.7	100.0
Intensive	*72*	*20.8*	*11.1*	*66.7*	*1.4*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*100.0*
Non-Intensive	*64*	*50.0*	*12.5*	*29.7*	*4.6*	*1.6*	*1.6*	*100.0*
Y.W.C.A.	88	11.4	50.0	34.1	1.1	3.4	0.0	100.0
Intensive	*77*	*7.8*	*49.3*	*39.0*	*1.3*	*2.6*	*0.0*	*100.0*
Non-Intensive	*11*	*36.4*	*54.5*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*9.1*	*0.0*	*100.0*
Girl Scouts (Non-Intensive)	42	26.2	38.1	35.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Camp Fire Girls	42	14.3	40.5	45.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	382	23.6	34.8	38.5	1.3	1.6	0.2	100.0

TABLE L—TENURE OF ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS OF 62 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Tenure	*Agency* Y.M.C.A.	Y.W.C.A.	Boy Scouts	*Total*
Number of organizations reporting	28	14	20	62
Headquarters				
Rented commercially	11	1	11	23
Shared with unrelated social agency	5	1	5	11
Shared with related social agency	7	6	0	13
Have own building	1	4	1	6
Have none	4	2	3	9

* Includes comparable district organizations.

TABLE LI—TENURE OF CAMP PROPERTY OF 60 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Variety of Tenure	*Agency* Y.M.C.A.	Y.W.C.A.	Boy Scouts	*Total*
Number of organizations reporting	28	12	20	60
Camp property	20	8	15	43
Owned	*3*	*1*	*5*	*9*
Leased	*8*	*5*	*6*	*19*
Shared	*9*	*2*	*3*	*14*
Tenure unknown	*0*	*0*	*1*	*1*
No camp property	8	4	5	17

* Includes comparable district organizations.

TABLE LII—SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS 485 LOCAL UNITS OF THE AGENCIES

Per Cent. Distribution of Sponsoring Organizations

Agency and Type of Supervision	*No. Reporting*	*None*	*Church*	*School*	*Community Club*	*Men's Commercial or Service Organization*	*Women's Club*	*Industry*	*Lodge*	*Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A.*	*Other*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A. (Intensive)	124	38.7	28.2	29.1	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.8	100.0
Boy Scouts	226	23.0	42.1	7.5	1.8	11.5	0.4	1.8	10.6	0.9	0.4	100.0
Intensive	*173*	*25.4*	*38.8*	*6.9*	*1.7*	*11.6*	*0.6*	*2.3*	*12.1*	*0.0*	*0.6*	*100.0*
Non-Intensive	*53*	*15.1*	*52.8*	*9.4*	*1.9*	*11.3*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*5.7*	*3.8*	*0.0*	*100.0*
Y.W.C.A.	83	47.0	15.7	27.7	3.6	0.0	1.2	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Intensive	*64*	*57.8*	*14.1*	*17.2*	*4.7*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*6.2*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*100.0*
Non-Intensive	*19*	*10.5*	*21.0*	*63.2*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*5.3*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*100.0*
Girl Scouts (Non-Intensive)	29	41.4	24.1	3.4	24.1	0.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Camp Fire Girls	23	26.1	30.4	30.4	13.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	485	32.4	32.4	17.3	3.5	5.8	0.8	2.0	5.0	0.4	0.4	100.0

Chapter VI

LOCAL LEADERS OF BOYS' AND GIRLS' WORK

As a result of an intensive rural survey of Worcester County, Mass. (one of the units of this study), the field investigator, Rev. C. O. Gill, recorded "a general agreement that the lack of efficient [local] leadership is the one and only serious difficulty" of organized work for boys and girls. This verdict is abundantly confirmed by testimony from all parts of the country. Leadership is everywhere emphasized as the key to the situation.

Both the beginnings of the local work and its subsequent on-going involve a constant process of action and reaction between individuals and organizations. Half the existing units were originated by individuals. Two-thirds of them are now sponsored by local organizations. This manifestly implies a frequent unloading of responsibility from the former to the latter. To be the initiator of movements is a natural rôle of the individual. It is true that one who "starts something for boys [or for girls]" sometimes acts in a supposed representative capacity. On the other hand, even when one has succeeded in securing a sponsoring organization, it is frequently little more than camouflage for a one-man interest. What sponsorship generally means is responsibility for finding a leader on whom the real burden may be placed, and who will stand for it. The total impression of field observations is that organizational responsibility is somewhat lightly held. The tenacity and propulsive energy of a single man or of a small group—frequently operating in spite of organizational inertia —are the real secrets of the existence and continuance of most of the work. This simply reflects the nature of social processes in small communities and perhaps elsewhere, peculiarly when

the local work is the result of the permeation of communities by ideas, and when there is no close territorial organization of any national agency with intensive supervision.

In either case, it touches the very heart of the national effort to help rural boys and girls to ask what sort of people are available, and who actually do undertake voluntary leadership in this work.

LEADERSHIP AS ORGANIZED BY THE AGENCIES

On the background of such inherent situations, national agencies come in with schemes of organization. All agree in the sound theory that the sanction of their work in communities is, that it is in the hands of local volunteers and is essentially the expression of their purpose and sense of responsibility. All recognize three types of organization of volunteers: (1) the territorial executive body—county or other areal central committee—to which the employed executive is primarily responsible and which centralizes authority within the area; (2) local committees responsible for the work in the several communities or for a single unit in a community (e.g., Scout Troop Committee); (3) local group leaders actually in charge of organized groups of boys and girls. To these some of the agencies in some areas, as has been noted, add a fourth group; that of local adult members. Except, however, as already included in the three previous classes, these members, except in a very small number of cases, have neither specific duties nor privileges and are essentially nothing more than enrolled financial supporters.

The investigation therefore limits itself to the first three classes.

LOCAL COMMITTEES

These are groups held officially responsible for the work in the several communities. They have an average of five members each. One-third meet irregularly or never. About one-sixth meet monthly (ten or twelve times a year); the rest less

frequently, most often holding quarterly meetings.[1] Field study impresses one primarily with the very nominal character of the functions of these committees. A typical report reads: "Local committees in this county are very unstable and meet most irregularly." The facts would seem to be that individual assumption of responsibility on the one hand (frequently under the persuasion of county executives), and sponsorship by agencies on the other, are so widespread that the local committee, especially in smaller communities, seems a fifth wheel. Practical relationships are too informal to demand such a committee. This is not to forget that in exceptional cases group responsibility of a very keen and genuine sort is thus expressed. Nevertheless, the investigation cannot avoid the conclusion that —except as it reflects organizational sponsorship—the local committee is not an effective device.

VOLUNTEER GROUP LEADERS

The man behind the machine and the real hero and burden-bearer of the local situation in organized work for boys and girls is the group leader. Not infrequently he is himself the initiator of the work.

The following paragraphs summarize the characteristics of such group leaders as statistically discovered.[2]

AGE OF VOLUNTEER WORKERS

The typical unpaid leader of the local boys' and girls' organizations is relatively young, 75 per cent. of the total classifying being below forty years of age. But there are nearly as many leaders of over sixty as there are of those under

1 Table LIV.

2 A total of 488 cases of volunteer workers was studied from these viewpoints, somewhat less than this total reporting on some of the points considered.

This number constitutes a large sample of those directly in charge of organized groups and activities and comprehended under various terms, as "leaders," "scoutmasters," "captains," "advisors," etc. Both principals and assistants are included within these classes, but members of local committees or county boards of direction who are not directly in charge of community or group work are excluded.

twenty. Women leaders average younger than men leaders. The Boy Scouts have the largest proportion of mature leaders. These distinctions are shown in greater detail in Table LIII.

TABLE LIII—DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF 488 UNPAID WORKERS OF THE AGENCIES

		Per Cent. Distribution by Years of Age											
Agency	*No. of Cases*	*Under 20*	*20–24*	*25–29*	*30–34*	*35–39*	*40–44*	*45–49*	*50–54*	*55–59*	*60–64*	*65 and Over*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A. ..	125	7.2	19.2	20.8	18.4	11.2	5.6	7.2	4.0	0.8	4.0	1.6	100.0
Boy Scouts .	211	0.5	11.9	18.5	21.3	17.5	10.4	9.5	3.8	3.3	3.3	0.0	100.0
Y.W.C.A. ..	78	1.3	29.5	28.2	14.1	7.7	7.7	8.9	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Girl Scouts .	39	2.6	33.3	15.3	28.2	12.8	2.6	2.6	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	100.0
Camp Fire Girls	35	2.9	42.9	11.4	17.1	11.4	8.6	0.0	5.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total ..	488	2.7	20.5	19.9	19.7	13.5	8.0	7.6	3.5	1.8	2.4	0.4	100.0

More than one-half of all leaders studied were at least college graduates, and including college undergraduates and normal school graduates nearly two-thirds have had some higher education. There are more boys' leaders with only slight education than there are girls' leaders.[3]

This very exceptional showing, educationally speaking, is largely owing to the fact that nearly half of all volunteer leaders are drawn from the professional classes.[4] Educators and ministers lead, but educators furnish as many volunteers as all other professions combined. Girls' groups find many leaders in home-making wives and mothers. Only 5.8 per cent. of all leaders of boys are farmers.[5]

TIME GIVEN TO VOLUNTEER SERVICE

Over 55 per cent. of all leaders reporting spend from five to fourteen hours a month in their voluntary tasks. Five to nine hours is most frequent with leaders of the two Christian

[3] Table LV.
[4] Table LVI.
[5] Table LVII.

Associations, and ten to fourteen hours with the other three agencies.[6]

One-third of the leaders reporting had been in service less than one year, and about one-fifth more had served less than two years, while only 14 per cent. had served as long as five years.[7] Such brief tenure is partly explainable by the notoriously short residence of ministers and teachers in a community; but also it doubtless correlates with the extreme recency of most of the present work.

CENTRAL TERRITORIAL COMMITTEES

Central territorial committees have an average membership of sixteen, sometimes running as high as thirty. Often they are selected on the basis of one representative from each major community in the county or comparable area.

There is noticeable contrast between central committeemen and group leaders, in that the former are older and socially more influential. This is strikingly illustrated in the occupational contrast between the two groups. While the professional vocations furnish nearly half the group leaders, they furnish but one-fourth of the central committeemen, who are drawn rather from the ranks of executives or of men occupying independent positions in industry and business. Such men let preachers and school men do the work, while they lend the dignity, raise the money, and keep the power. There are, however, more farmers among them than among group leaders.[8] The central committees of organizations for girls are drawn from the wives of the type of men just described, though naturally with a considerable proportion of independent professional women.

In counties adjoining cities, central committees in charge of rural work are preponderantly commuters whose business interests are urban. The characteristic place for their meetings is some city skyscraper. They stand for the goodwill, and for the sense of responsibility, that undertake to project into the

[6] Table LVIII.
[7] Table LIX.
[8] Table LX.

country what the city thinks good for it; and they are not always particularly representative of indigenous tendencies. Sometimes they definitely register a philanthropic attitude of one social group to another.

Somewhat similar trends express themselves in rural counties definitely centralized about small cities or well-developed county seats.

All the above facts are relatively familiar and simply show the character of the resources of small communities in natural leadership and available volunteer work.

SUMMARY

Calculating roughly upon the basis of the sample territory, the five agencies must have mobilized a force of some 16,000 volunteer group leaders of boys and girls backed by perhaps 33,000 local committeemen here and there in rural America. This is no mean achievement. The members of this volunteer force are typically drawn from the best material of such communities. While few exhibit conspicuous talent in their work, they are select men and women by age, education and occupation. But they give only a little time to the work and that for a little while. The lack of a permanent and deep-rooted supply of local leaders is the most serious and conspicuous of the limiting factors from which the work suffers.

SOME ULTIMATE QUESTIONS

(1) Is this showing a sample not only of what the agencies suffer but of what rural civilization suffers? Is there any solution to the problem of rural social leadership? Just as the supply of boys and girls is short in the smaller rural communities, so is that of available talent for such interests. The professional leaders of the most indigenous agencies are largely nonresident—as witness the rural ministry—or pitiably transient, as is the school-teacher.

(2) If rural communities cannot supply resident leadership for their better-established and presumably more important interests, can they hope to do so for group organizations of youth?

(3) What are the chances of giving technical training to such volunteers as there are? The training processes which the agencies have devised to meet the case were often elaborate and admirable; but the infancy of most of the local organizations studied made statistics on the subject impossible; while the brief period of service of most of the volunteers had made it generally impossible to use the training processes with any thoroughness. One comes away from actual contact with volunteers with the highest appreciation of their purpose and goodwill, but with great uncertainty as to whether the agencies are going to be able to give adequate training to those who are not already professionally educated. Some of the older county organizations show striking cases of the development of personal character and capacity for leadership on the part of non-professional volunteers through a series of years; but most of these successes were found in populous suburban counties where the smaller communities have been enriched by the overflow of culture. Unquestionably any successful organization that lasts long enough can get some such results. So far, however, the good examples of the training of non-professional volunteers are relatively few.

(4) Is it not evident that there should be great economy in the use of local leaders, not only as among the agencies, but as between the older and the newer organizations? Can the small community hope, for example, to man the Sunday school and the boy- and girl-groups with separate leadership? Can leadership afford to waste itself on oversmall competitive groups? Must not ability to work with boys and girls be made available for both boys and girls when it is so scarce in the smaller places? Is the sectarian use of leadership just or generous?

TABLES

TABLE LIV—MEMBERSHIP AND MEETINGS PER YEAR OF LOCAL COMMITTEES OF THE AGENCIES

	Agency and Type of Supervision									
	Y.M.C.A.		*Boy Scouts*		*Y.W.C.A.*		*Girl Scouts*	*Camp Fire Girls*	*Total*	
	Intensive	*Non-Intensive*	*Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*
No. of Committees	52	0	79	63	23	12	17	2	154	94
No. Reporting Membership ...	34	0	74	63	16	8	16	2	124	89
Membership	183	0	370	274	228	37	117	10	781	438
No. Meetings per Year										
1	0	0	6	3	0	0	1	0	6	4
2	2	0	7	4	0	0	1	0	9	5
3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
4	6	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	11	2
5	1	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	5	1
6	1	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	2	5
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
9	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	2
10	6	0	2	3	5	2	1	0	13	6
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	5	1	8	1	5	1	13	8
None	2	0	9	7	0	1	1	0	11	9
Irregular	10	0	11	22	1	2	2	1	22	27
20	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
24	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	3
Not reported ..	21	0	26	15	8	3	3	0	55	21

TABLE LV—DISTRIBUTION BY DEGREE OF EDUCATION OF 476 UNPAID WORKERS OF THE AGENCIES

Agency	No. of Cases	Degree of Education: Grammar School	High School	H.S. and Business School	H.S. and Some College or Normal School	College	Seminary	College and Special	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Y.M.C.A.	142	9.2	16.9	0.7	9.9	55.6	5.6	2.1	100.0
Boy Scouts	176	10.8	29.5	3.4	6.3	38.1	10.8	1.1	100.0
Y.W.C.A.	74	1.4	27.0	0.0	13.5	56.7	0.0	1.4	100.0
Girl Scouts	37	5.4	24.3	10.8	24.3	35.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
Camp Fire Girls	47	2.1	21.3	14.9	23.4	36.2	0.0	2.1	100.0
Total	476	7.6	24.1	3.8	11.5	45.8	5.7	1.5	100.0

TABLE LVI—DISTRIBUTION BY PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATION OF 350 UNPAID WORKERS OF THE AGENCIES

Agency	Professional Occupation: Ministry	Educational	Other Professions	Total
Y.M.C.A.	18	69	12	99
Boy Scouts	62	42	20	124
Total Boys'	80	111	32	223
Y.W.C.A.	0	70	5	75
Girl Scouts	0	19	4	23
Camp Fire Girls	0	26	3	29
Total Girls'	0	115	12	127
Total Agencies	80	226	44	350

TABLE LVII—DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF 703 UNPAID WORKERS OF THE AGENCIES

	Per Cent. Distribution					
	Y.M.C.A.	*Boy Scouts*	*Y.W.C.A.*	*Girl Scouts*	*Camp Fire Girls*	*Total Agencies*
Number of cases	190	275	120	61	57	703
Occupation						
Agriculture	8.4	4.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	4.1
Extraction of minerals	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Manufacturing and mechanical	12.1	18.2	0.0	1.6	1.8	10.7
Transportation	3.2	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.8	1.6
Trade	11.6	17.1	0.0	0.0	3.5	10.1
Public service	0.5	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1
Professional	52.1	45.1	62.5	37.7	50.9	49.8
Domestic and personal	0.5	1.5	1.7	1.6	0.0	1.1
Clerical	3.7	4.7	6.7	11.5	7.0	5.6
Housewife	0.0	0.0	26.6	36.1	31.6	10.2
Student	6.8	1.1	1.7	3.3	1.7	3.0
Unoccupied	1.1	0.0	0.8	4.9	1.7	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE LVIII—DISTRIBUTION BY HOURS PER MONTH GIVEN TO WORK OF THE AGENCIES BY 257 UNPAID WORKERS

		Per Cent. Distribution by Years of Age									
Agency	*No. of Cases*	*Under 5*	*5-9*	*10-14*	*15-19*	*20-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-39*	*40 and Over*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A.	59	20.3	35.6	28.8	5.1	3.4	1.7	1.7	0.0	3.4	100.0
Boy Scouts ...	103	7.8	20.4	25.3	18.5	11.6	8.7	1.9	0.0	5.8	100.0
Y.W.C.A.	28	14.3	35.8	17.9	7.1	7.1	7.1	0.0	0.0	10.7	100.0
Girl Scouts ..	31	3.2	29.0	35.5	9.7	6.5	9.7	3.2	0.0	3.2	100.0
Camp Fire Girls	36	16.7	30.5	33.3	5.6	5.6	2.8	0.0	0.0	5.5	100.0
Total	257	12.1	28.0	27.6	11.3	7.8	6.2	1.6	0.0	5.4	100.0

TABLE LIX—DISTRIBUTION BY YEARS OF SERVICE DEVOTED TO THE WORK OF THE AGENCIES BY 425 UNPAID WORKERS

Agency	No. of Cases	Per Cent. Distribution by Number of Years: Under 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and Over	Total
Y.M.C.A. ..	102	35.3	20.6	17.6	8.8	4.9	6.9	2.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.9	100.0
Boy Scouts.	173	34.1	21.4	11.5	9.2	3.5	4.6	1.2	4.0	3.5	1.2	5.8	100.0
Y.W.C.A. ..	73	23.3	32.9	17.8	16.4	2.7	1.4	0.0	2.7	0.0	1.4	1.4	100.0
Girl Scouts.	34	32.4	20.6	23.5	14.7	3.0	2.9	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Camp Fire Girls	43	39.6	9.3	16.3	11.6	11.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.0	2.3	2.3	100.0
Total	425	32.9	21.9	15.5	11.1	4.5	4.0	0.9	2.4	2.4	0.9	3.5	100.0

TABLE LX—DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF MALE COUNTY COMMITTEEMEN AND OF LOCAL GROUP LEADERS

Occupation	Per Cent. Distribution of County Committeemen	Local Group Leaders
Agriculture	10.5	5.8
Mining	0.0	1.1
Manufacture	20.4	15.7
Transportation	0.0	2.2
Trade	35.7	14.8
Professions	28.1	48.0
Personal Service	0.5	1.1
Public Service	4.8	3.2
Clerical	0.0	4.3
Students	0.0	3.4
Unoccupied	0.0	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Chapter VII

INTENSIVE SUPERVISION

In the theory of territorial organization as defined in the manuals of the national agencies, there is assumed to be a definite localized unit with its members, officers, committees and systematic functions. This organization is related to the national agency in prescribed ways. It needs a territorial executive for its proper functioning and employs one. The national agencies try to secure and make available a body of properly trained and accredited men for these positions.

The facts, as actually encountered on the field, prove that many of these territorial organizations are most nebulous, having indeed little reality apart from the presence and continuous effort of a local territorial executive who is regarded as the representative of national headquarters. Most of them have no accustomed means of functioning, and do not function when without an executive; and in popular understanding and action when the executive is gone the organization is dead. Measures necessary to revive it after the prolonged lapse of executive leadership have most of the characteristics of new organization. In short, the executive is more truly a locally paid supervisor of the national parent agency than he is an independent executive of a local territorial organization.

How far this unusual dependence is owing to the recent origins of most of the agencies is left for discussion with other problems at the end of the chapter. The paragraphs immediately following present data concerning this uniquely indispensable man, whose assumed values are taken for granted. He perpetuates, extends, directs and standardizes the work within his territory, and secures its financial support. The generalization on this point is based on the cases of seventy-

four county executives and assistant secretaries in the counties studied; fifty-eight men and sixteen women.[1]

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TERRITORIAL EXECUTIVE

The average executive of a county or comparable district is a well-trained person, from thirty to thirty-five years of age,[2] who starts into his work on leaving college, or shortly afterward.[3] Half of the executives have had some technical education of the academic sort for the particular job they hold.[4] Just half are country bred.[5] They have had, on the average, from four to seven years of professional experience in the lines of their present work or of other closely allied work.[6] Most of them have been on their present jobs only one or two years.[7] The most representative salary for men is about $2,800; for women $1,800.[8] These are accounted good salaries by the communities that help to pay them, in the light of what other rural professional workers receive. The secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association (the only agency reporting on this point) tend to leave the rural work after about six years, either by transfer to some other phase of service or otherwise.

DIFFERENCES AMONG AGENCIES

The average age of male executives is nearly five years beyond that of females. The maximum age with the former is fifty-one; with the latter forty. As to education, the Young Women's Christian Association has the highest per cent., and the Young Men's Christian Association the lowest per cent., of college graduates.[9] As is well known, the Young

1 Table LXII.
2 Table LXIII.
3 Table LXIV.
4 Table LXV.
5 Table LXVI.
6 Table LXVII.
7 Table LXVIII.
8 Table LXIX.
9 For the two agencies for which approximately comparable data are available, the showing based on the sample drawn from fifty-three counties almost

Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association have well-established training schools for professional workers. It is only natural therefore that they should show a higher proportion of executives with technical training for their positions. A further significant difference is that more of their workers have had long experience than have those of the Boy Scouts. The Boy Scout executives also show shorter average tenures; but this may be owing to the greater recency of the work in the area studied.

As to environment, half of the Young Men's Christian Association and Boy Scout executives are country bred, to only one-third of Young Women's Christian Association executives.

Boy Scout salaries are appreciably better than those of the other agencies.

No data as to marital condition were secured except from the Young Men's Christian Association. Nearly all of its executives are married, and of these, four-fifths have children.

OBSERVED TYPES

Aside from such factual generalizations, and beyond such obvious differences as those between novices and experienced workers, certain clearly marked types, as determined by professional origins and previous experience, are evident.

Of male executives, it is easy to distinguish—

(1) the man trained primarily on the job—a volunteer who came up from the ranks and became a paid worker;

---

exactly agrees with that nationally reported in the case of the Young Women's Christian Association, but shows fewer college men in the case of the Young Men's Christian Association. It should be said that the categories in which the information was gathered are not absolutely identical and a reinterpretation of the data might possibly modify it in some respects.

EDUCATION OF PAID COUNTY WORKERS OF TWO AGENCIES

	Degree of Education of Worker							
	Y. W. C. A.				*Y. M. C. A.*			
Item	*Grammar School*	*High School*	*College*	*Total*	*Grammar School*	*High School*	*College*	*Total*
53 counties	0	1	12	13	3	10	21	34
National Reports ..	0	2	27	29	0	26	100	126

(2) the product of the agency training schools, a hand-made professional and specialist.

Of male executives not to the manner born—and sometimes fitting into rural communities all the more readily because they have been previously associated with their indigenous agencies—are:

(3) the former school man; (4) the ex-minister; and (5) the former business man. The characteristics and methods of all of these are often strongly stamped by their previous vocations.

Of female executives one finds—

(1) the girl recently out of college who has had a course or two in work for boys and girls. No corresponding male type was found in appreciable numbers;
(2) the product of agency training schools or of technical schools for religious or social workers;
(3) the former school-teacher, and
(4) the woman who has been housewife and mother. This last type is more often found where the work involves the operation of dormitories or headquarters buildings.

About one-sixth of the executives had associates or executive assistants. Among this number were found the beginnings of specialized types like physical instructors, clerical or financial specialists, or secretaries devoting themselves to narrow age-groups. But five-sixths of the total number were "general practitioners" attempting to conduct the whole range of the functions of their respective organizations.[10]

WHAT THE PUBLIC THINKS OF THE WORKERS

Public opinion rates the executives higher than it does the total value of the work, 88 per cent. of the verdicts of representative citizens being "excellent" or "good." [11] Complaints were sometimes softened by the recollection that the executive is frequently overburdened and does not have good backing.

[10] Table LXX.
[11] Table LXXI.

Weaknesses are generally specific, as, for example, "The Secretary is a poor financier." No moral black sheep were found in the employ of any of the agencies. The average ability is high and the best very good.

FUNCTIONS OF EXECUTIVES AS PROFESSIONAL SUPERVISORS

Beyond the most general version of the executives' work, as already indicated, it has four classes of regular and obvious functions: (1) supervision of organized local groups under volunteer leaders—who have to be found, trained, kept at their work and in touch with and up to the standards of their respective agencies; (2) carrying on of general central functions, such as extension and promotion, the keeping of records and making of reports, financial administration, leadership training and usually the conduct of general gatherings such as conferences and camps; (3) occasional coöperative and service activities in local communities outside of organized group-work; (4) sometimes the management of some special service activity for the headquarters community, such as the management of a community building.

So many of these functions are necessarily performed out of sight, or are beyond the notice of the casual observer, that one gets a certain shock from a statement of what the executive's work seems to the public. On the testimony of representative citizens throughout the communities studied, the Young Men's Christian Association secretary is regarded most frequently as a public recreational leader. The Young Women's Christian Association secretary is most characteristically thought of as the person whose business it is to look after poor and bad girls. The Boy Scout executive is recognized as an executive and business agent rather than as one whose chief value lies in the field of personal relationships with boys.

In general it is safe to say that those duties that are laid upon the executive by the national agency are less appreciated by communities than direct services rendered there.

The field study found executives engaged in all phases of

the tasks above outlined; but since it did not take actual job-records over a period of time, it is impossible to bring its observations to any exact statement. The executives were concerned with such activities and problems as the earlier chapters of the report have presented. Some were just going about the business of organizing in new territory. Others were struggling with the results of past policies, of inadequate starts and ups and downs of fortune. Virtually all felt that the distinctive ideas and basic loyalties of their respective movements had been inadequately acquired by their constituencies. Many regarded the traditions of the people with whom they were working as narrow and reactionary. With scarcely an exception they were finding finances a perennial problem. A few were experiencing the collapse of their organizations and the bitterness of defeat and failure.

Besides the ever-current need of developing local responsibility and preventing volunteers from slipping their tasks back upon the executive's shoulders, the administrative problems with which they were most often engaged were:

(1) How to tell what to do next. Performing, as they have to, a varied and largely unstandardized set of tasks, there was great lack of certainty among executives as to the relative importance of the tasks, and there were many confessions of the danger of diffusing effort and "spreading out too thin."

(2) As has already been intimated, numerous cases were found where the executive felt that he had to give too much time to finances, and where the burden of financial responsibility was seriously impairing efficiency.

(3) The quest for local leaders, and the effort to keep them in good heart and at their jobs, and to give them a little systematic training, were met with as pressing duties everywhere.

(4) Almost uniformly, except in the flush of first organization, it was said that there must be the firmer establishment of existing work before expansion could be undertaken. Executives felt driven by duties already laid upon them, and had little heart for attacking new fields while those already occu-

pied so often threatened to lapse whenever the leaders' backs were turned.

(5) Dissatisfaction or revolt on the part of local units somewhere in the field were occupying and troubling many executives.

In brief, the actual consciousness of the local executive is conditioned by his sense of limited personal strength and financial support. He strives for certain technical excellences in the routine work he has to perform, and tries to improve the local or county-wide functions over which he presides. Whatever professed theory he may hold about the duty of reaching "the last boy in the county," his actual standard of performance and of success varies about the average which he knows his predecessors or similar workers in other counties have achieved.

HOW MUCH CAN ONE SECRETARY DO?

An occasional secretary was found who did not regard as his primary duty that of organizing and maintaining local groups of boys and girls to carry out a recognized program. Group work was so much the most common form of activity, however, as to yield the most nearly adequate basis of comparison.

The average number of organized groups found in a county or equivalent supervisory district was eleven per agency. The tendency to find them chiefly in the larger and more accessible places has been discussed in a previous chapter. The total is not specially impressive. It should be compared, however, with the total for unorganized territory.

Where there is no intensive supervision by paid workers, the average range is from one group per county for the Young Men's Christian Association to four for the Boy Scouts. This is as far as permeation is likely to go in a given territory. Where there is territorial organization with one paid worker, the range is from eight organized groups in the case of the Young Men's Christian Association to fourteen for the Young Women's Christian Association and sixteen for the Boy Scouts. Where there is more than one paid worker, the range is from eleven groups with the Young Men's Christian Association and

the Boy Scouts to fifteen with the Young Women's Christian Association. (The Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls are not included in this report except in unsupervised territory.) For all agencies, nine is the average number of organized groups per county when there is but one worker per agency, and twelve is the average when there is more than one worker. A second worker adds 50 per cent. to the first one's work thus measured.[12] But, taking the United States as a whole, there are about twenty-five distinguishable rural communities per county.

The amount and reliability of volunteer assistance developed is of course partly dependent on the age of the work. This factor probably accounts largely for the circumstance that some county executives can oversee three or four times as many units as others. It must be added that some have three or four times as much capacity as others to get other people to work.

SUMMARY

In character, ability and educational equipment, the executives who have been studied are better than the conditions under which they have to labor. Many evidences have been given of the imperfect and unstable adjustment of the national agencies to rural civilization. The data, on the other hand, strongly reënforce the popular verdict of representative citizens as interviewed: These are good men and women who cannot always make good in what is still an unstandardized experiment. This is not to say that their outlook and training cannot be improved. Some of the considerations which the problem of supervision involves follow:

FURTHER QUESTIONS AND ISSUES

(1) Can territorial organization of interests as narrow as those of individual agencies ever achieve vitality in rural areas as large as counties but with as little average social integration as counties have?

Successful examples of such organization were indeed

[12] Table LXXII.

found, but almost exclusively in urbanized regions. In a few cases where the matter was pressed further, rather amusing evidence was found that the really responsible elements in such cases are preponderantly city people. This is shown in Table LXI.

TABLE LXI—NUMBER OF COMMUTERS AND NON-COMMUTERS ON CERTAIN COUNTY COMMITTEES OF TWO AGENCIES

Agency	*Members of County Committee*	
	Commuters	*Non-Commuters*
North Bergen County, N. J., Boy Scout Council	18	10
Bergen County, N. J., Young Men's Christian Association	14	6
Camden County, N. J., Young Men's Christian Association	21	0
	Scoutmasters	
Camden County, N. J., Boy Scout Council	14	3

Some of the reasons why territorial organization in strictly rural areas is difficult may be suggested:

(a) Its ultimate units—the youth-groups—so frequently lapse as to communicate a sense of instability to the larger organization.

(b) As hitherto conducted by the agencies, territorial organization is generally without property, a visible center or material investment about which it might rally.

(c) Its scattered membership (or supporting constituency) does not constitute a face-to-face group, like the membership of a local church or club. The majority of the members never meet, and little group loyalty results.

(d) The territorial unit on which organization is based is often without unity. A county is frequently a political accident, consisting of rival communities; and is not a natural basis of organization.

(e) Local communities that want the work of any agency can get it by sporadic units, without territorial organization. They frequently have it in advance of organization and are not deprived of it by the lapse of organization.

Some of these difficulties are perhaps irremediable; others could be avoided only by radical change of policy. All told, they seriously challenge the success of territorial organization quite apart from its financial costs, which are the theme of the next chapter.

(2) Since territorial organization is so unstable, and since the executive is so largely a representative of a reënforcing, directing and morally supporting national movement, can he adequately take the standpoint of local communities? Will he not probably continue to regard himself, and to be regarded, not as a local man but as an agent of an external process?

(3) Even if the executive succeeds in profoundly identifying himself with the local field, is he not driven to do so narrowly in the interest of his own organization? Are the conditions of success and survival such that the average secretary can be really a community-minded man? Can one with such antecedents and working under such conditions lead communities to get away from their rivalries and divisions and really to unite in the common interest of boys and girls?

CHAPTER VII, *Continued*

TABLES

TABLE LXII—CLASSIFICATION BY SEX OF 74 PAID WORKERS OF FOUR AGENCIES

Agency	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A.	36	..	36
Boy Scouts	22	..	22
Y.W.C.A.	..	15	15
Girl Scouts	..	1	1
Total	58	16	74

TABLE LXIII—AGES OF 66 PAID WORKERS OF THREE AGENCIES

	All Paid Workers Ages in Years			*Chief County or District Executives Ages in Years*		
Agency	*No. of Cases*	*Median*	*Range*	*No. of Cases*	*Median*	*Range*
Y.M.C.A.	32	35	25-50	26	36	25-50
Boy Scouts	22	33	23-51	19	33	23-51
Y.W.C.A.	12	31	23-40	11	30	23-38

TABLE LXIV—DEGREE OF EDUCATION OF 68 PAID WORKERS OF THREE AGENCIES

	All Paid Workers				*Chief County or District Executives*			
Agency	*Grammar School*	*High School*	*College*	*Total*	*Grammar School*	*High School*	*College*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A.	3	10	21	34	3	8	17	28
Boy Scouts	0	4	17	21	0	4	16	20
Y.W.C.A.	0	1	12	13	0	0	11	11

TABLE LXV—TECHNICAL EDUCATION OF 68 PAID WORKERS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	All Paid Workers		Chief County or District Executives	
	No. of Cases	Number Having Special Academic Training	No. of Cases	Number Having Special Academic Training
Y.M.C.A.	34	21	28	19
Boy Scouts	21	4	20	4
Y.W.C.A.	13	8	11	7

TABLE LXVI—EARLY ENVIRONMENT OF 49 PAID WORKERS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	All Paid Workers					Chief County or District Executives				
	Country	Town	City	Mixed	Total	Country	Town	City	Mixed	Total
Y.M.C.A.	14	2	3	3	22	14	2	2	3	21
Boy Scouts	7	2	5	1	15	6	2	5	1	14
Y.W.C.A.	4	2	5	1	12	4	2	4	1	11

TABLE LXVII—PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE OF 69 PAID WORKERS OF THREE AGENCIES

Years of Age

Agency	All Paid Workers			Chief County or District Executives	
	No. of Cases	Median	Range	No. of Cases	Median
Y.M.C.A.	34	7	Less than 1 to 24	28	9
Boy Scouts	21	4	Less than 1 to 25	20	4
Y.W.C.A.	14	6	Less than 1 to 12	13	6

TABLE LXVIII—LENGTH OF TIME IN PRESENT POSITION OF 70 PAID WORKERS OF THREE AGENCIES

Years in Present Position

Agency	All Paid Workers			Chief County or District Executives	
	No. of Cases	Median	Range	No. of Cases	Median
Y.M.C.A.	34	2	Less than 1 to 17	28	3
Boy Scouts	21	1	Less than 1 to 8	20	1
Y.W.C.A.	15	2	Less than 1 to 8	13	2

TABLE LXIX—SALARIES OF 72 PAID WORKERS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	All Paid Workers: No. of Cases	All Paid Workers: Amount of Salary: Median	All Paid Workers: Amount of Salary: Range	Chief County or District Executives: No. of Cases	Chief County or District Executives: Amount of Salary: Median
Y.M.C.A.	35	$2,700	$1,800–$3,500	28	$2,725
Boy Scouts	21	2,750	2,000– 3,800 *	19	3,000
Y.W.C.A.	15	1,800	1,500– 2,300	13	1,800

* Range for chief executives, Boy Scouts, $2,200-$3,800.

TABLE LXX—CLASSIFICATION BY POSITION OF 74 PAID EXECUTIVES OF FOUR AGENCIES

Agency	County * Executive: Chief	County * Executive: Associate
Y.M.C.A.	29	7
Boy Scouts	20	2
Y.W.C.A.	13	2
Girl Scouts	1	0
Total	63	11

* Includes comparable district executives.

TABLE LXXI—OPINIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS REGARDING THE ABILITY OF 51 PAID WORKERS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	No. of Paid Workers	Distribution of Opinions About Workers: Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Total
Y.M.C.A.	26	37	185	7	12	241
Boy Scouts	14	8	29	7	11	55
Y.W.C.A.	11	9	28	3	2	42

TABLE LXXII—NUMBER OF ORGANIZED UNITS OF THE AGENCIES IN COUNTIES WITH SPECIFIED NUMBER OF PAID WORKERS

Agency and Workers	*Number of Units Per County* Total Number of Units	Median	Range
Y.M.C.A.	365		
No paid worker		1	
One paid worker		7	1–24
Units per paid worker when more than one		11	2–23
Boy Scouts	425		
No paid worker		4	1–13
One paid worker		16	1–28
Units per paid worker when more than one		11	10–24
Y.W.C.A.	250		
No paid worker		2	1–9
One paid worker		14	9–19
Units per paid worker when more than one		15	7–20
Girl Scouts	128		
No paid worker		3	1–16
Camp Fire Girls	100		
No paid worker		3	1–13
Totals	1,268		
No paid worker		8	1–16
One paid worker		9	1–28
Units per paid worker when more than one		12	2–23

Chapter VIII

FINANCES OF TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

Where a national movement is not intensely organized but is represented in a given area only by sporadic units of local origins—as are 46 per cent. of the cases in the territory studied —no appreciable financial problem occurs. It is true that the study sometimes found the fees and payments exacted by national agencies a deterrent to such organization, and that the local choice of agencies was sometimes dictated by the cost of their respective uniforms! Generally, however, the expenses of the sporadic unit are regarded as incidental, and are carried either by the local sponsoring agency or by the individual members.

The financial problem of rural work for boys and girls is essentially that of the cost of intensive supervision. This, as will shortly be shown, takes by far the greater proportion of all the money raised by territorial organization. In the testimony of representative citizens, and as sensed by the experiences of field study, this is the only problem that penetrates vitally to the public. A typical year's procedure of the agencies was rather ungraciously described as follows: A father and son banquet preceding a financial canvass; then complete quiescence until another father and son banquet preceding another canvass. And however unjust, this expresses a typical attitude.

The present chapter deals with fact and opinion concerning this major problem of finance.

FACTS OF TERRITORIAL FINANCE

The median annual cost of the county agencies for boys and men is between $4,500 and $5,000, and of the Young Women's Christian Association $3,058.[1] The difference is

[1] Table LXXVI.

due primarily to the smaller salaries paid to women executives. Budgets of above $6,000 in nearly all cases represent salaries paid to assistant executives or else activities involving property and business transactions. From 84 to 95 per cent. of the total support comes from annual subscriptions; fees and rentals, which constitute so large an element in the support of the city Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, being almost negligible. These facts are shown comparatively for three agencies in Tables LXXIII and LXXIV.

TABLE LXXIII—INCOMES OF 57 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	No. of Cases	Amount of Income		
		Mean	Median	Range
Y.M.C.A.	27	$6,031	$4,516	$1,667–$20,185
Boy Scouts	17	6,045	5,178	2,646– 13,750
Y.W.C.A.	13	4,893	3,158	2,400– 17,672

* Includes comparable district organizations.

TABLE LXXIV—DISTRIBUTION OF SOURCES OF INCOME OF 47 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	No. of Cases	Per Cent. Distribution by Sources of Income							
		Subscriptions	Gifts	Subsidies	Membership Fees	Property Income	Earned	Other	Total
Y.M.C.A.	27	88.4	0.1	3.8	1.5	2.0	2.4	1.8	100.0
Boy Scouts	17	94.8	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.9	2.7	100.0
Y.W.C.A.	13	83.6	2.4	1.5	1.5	0.0	9.3	1.7	100.0

* Includes comparable district organizations.

Expenditures [2] naturally closely follow incomes. From 51 to 63 per cent. of the total income is expended for salaries. Costs of operation absorb from 17 to 24 per cent., transportation from 6.3 to 9.5 per cent., and payments to overhead organization from 2.5 to 5.2 per cent. As among the agencies, the greatest variation lies in the "other expenditures," due to the varying nature of their programs. This appears in Table LXXV.

2 Table LXXVI.

TABLE LXXV—DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES OF 54 COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	No. of Cases	Per Cent. Distribution of Expenditures: Salaries	Cost of Operating	Transportation	Payments to Overhead	Other	Total
Y.M.C.A.	25	62.7	19.5	9.5	2.5	5.8	100.0
Boy Scouts	16	54.8	23.8	7.4	3.2	10.8	100.0
Y.W.C.A.	13	51.4	17.0	6.3	5.2	20.1	100.0

The total work of the agencies has a median cost per county of only $3,900 for a single agency working for boys and men, or $3,000 for a single agency working for girls and women. The median cost per county of two agencies for boys and men in one county is $11,609, compared with $8,300 for two organizations for women and girls. Where there are three organizations in the county, the median total cost is $12,626.[3]

FINANCIAL METHODS AND SHORTCOMINGS

The most frequent method of raising money for the support of overhead organization was an annual canvass for subscriptions—on the basis of quotas assigned to the several communities. The agencies generally did not usually succeed in cultivating financially the entire area which they were supposed to serve. Very generally the cities are sponged upon by the rural districts, and scattered individuals are looked to rather than communities as sources of support. Just as it is easier to organize the larger and more accessible places, so is it easier to cultivate them financially, and the same discriminations were found as in the matter of occupancy. A good many complaints against the alleged competitive appeals were found. The financial tradition under which the agencies work is crude and lacking in professional dignity. Reaching out from the cities into suburbs and related rural areas, the Community Chest movement was found in a few instances. Sometimes it assured the rural work of more reliable support than formerly, sometimes it limited it, but always it necessitated readjustment of methods and relationships.

[3] Table LXXVII.

REPRESENTATIVE OPINION ON FINANCE

The state of county finances was pronounced "good" in 116 out of 190 interviews whose verdicts could be definitely classified, and "poor" in sixty cases; while the verdict in fourteen cases was indecisive. Judgments concerning a given county or community usually agreed, the main differences being that responsible county officers commonly reported less favorable conditions than the average friendly but non-participating citizen did, and that women inclined to hold more roseate financial views than men.[4]

IS THE WORK WORTH ITS COST?

There was considerable tendency to make financial verdicts determinative and final. The human values of the work of the agencies were not infrequently weighed over against its financial costs, with a considerable number of conclusions that the results were too small for the amount of overhead charges; or that the cost was beyond the wealth of the community; or that it took too much of the secretary's time to raise his own salary.

FINANCES RATED BY FIELD INVESTIGATORS

On the basis of all the data available the investigation has attempted to rate the present financial condition in sixty-five cases of county organizations where the problem could be adequately studied. The results, as expressed in loose categories, are as follows:

Very good	1
Good	30
Fair	17
Poor	8
Very poor	9

The category "very poor" includes several cases where work has temporarily lapsed, largely for financial reasons and where

[4] Table LXXVIII.

its revival is problematical. The facts are shown in further detail in Table LXXIX.

WHAT TURNS THE FINANCIAL TIDE?

The financial quality of the work does not depend upon the number of agencies in a county, except where the number is extreme;[5] nor, in the counties studied, does it depend upon differences in rural wealth, judged by the available criteria.[6] Where cities are in reach it is apparently city support which turns the scales toward financial success. Beyond this the conditions of success are not clear. It does not appear to depend upon the widely distributed wealth of the community as much as upon the generosity of a limited number of backers.

SUMMARY

The costs of rural territorial organization, for the agencies studied, are not extravagant, nor does their application of expenditures seem unreasonable. How much of a financial burden it is to raise $3,000 or $12,000 in a county depends ultimately on its wealth; but the results appear to have no traceable connection with general wealth, because the sources of support are personal rather than popular. Most of the money raised goes to pay for supervision. Much of it is raised with grave difficulty and the most frequent doubts expressed about it concern the value of the supervision for which it pays.

FURTHER QUESTIONS AND ISSUES

(1) At the rate of cost as above revealed, how far can intensive supervision of boys' and girls' work by national agencies conceivably be carried in rural America? At the present rate it would cost nearly $10,000,000 a year to sus-

[5] Table LXXX.

[6] Where the agencies have organized, their finances do not vary directly with wealth. But they have never organized in average counties. The average value of farms in the counties chosen as typical of the occupied rural field of the agencies is a half more than of the country as a whole. Neither have the agencies failed in poor counties. A study of farm values in areas in which the lapses of one of the major agencies have occurred show that they average virtually the same as those in which it has survived.

tain one executive of one agency in every county of the United States; and the agencies have not shown themselves satisfied with one per county. Unless very different and much better work were done, he would reach only one sex in not more than half of the communities of the average county, and they generally the least needy ones. Can general extension of the present method of supervision on these terms be anticipated?

(2) Is financing justifiable, even when successful, when it takes most of the time of the executive to raise his own salary and maintenance charges?

(3) Is the 3 or 4 per cent. of territorial income which goes to the support of national agencies "successfully" raised, in the light of the suspicion and criticism which it frequently entails?

(4) Should support be raised from the country at large to finance rural work in the more needy counties? Does the nation owe it to herself and to her most essential workers to do this? If so, on what terms? Are the policies of the agencies such that they should be entrusted with such funds?

CHAPTER VIII, *Continued*

TABLES

TABLE LXXVI—EXPENDITURES OF 57 COUNTY* ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	*No. of Cases*	*Expenditures*		
		Mean	*Median*	*Range*
Y.M.C.A.	25	$5,899	$4,500	$1,613–$20,185
Boy Scouts	16	6,194	5,300	1,853– 13,700
Y.W.C.A.	13	4,818	3,058	2,402– 17,602

* Includes comparable district organizations.

TABLE LXXVII—COST PER COUNTY OF 37 COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS

Counties with	*No. of Cases*	*Cost Per County*		
		Mean	*Median*	*Range*
One Agency				
For males	19	$4,292	$3,900	$1,667– $9,750
For females	5	5,820	3,000	2,475– 17,672
Two Agencies				
For males	4	12,066	11,609	9,500– 15,546
One for males and one for females	8	10,313	8,300	5,900– 17,717
Three Agencies				
All for males	1	12,626	12,626	.....
Total	37	$6,866	$5,070	$1,667–$17,717

TABLE LXXVIII—OPINIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS REGARDING THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF 47 COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES

Agency	*No. of Cases*	*Number of Opinions*		
		Good	*Uncertain*	*Poor*
Y.M.C.A.	22	72	8	32
Boy Scouts	15	32	3	14
Y.W.C.A.	10	12	3	14

TABLE LXXIX—FINANCIAL CONDITION BY REGIONS OF 65 COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS OF THREE AGENCIES AS RATED BY THE INVESTIGATION

Agency and Region	*Rating*					
	Very Good	*Good*	*Fair*	*Poor*	*Very Poor*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A.						
New England	0	3	0	0	0	3
Middle Atlantic	0	4	1	1	1	7
Southern	0	0	0	2	0	2
East North Central	0	2	2	0	1	5
West North Central	0	4	2	1	2	9
Pacific	1	0	1	1	2	5
Total	1	13	6	5	6	31
Boy Scouts						
New England	0	2	1	0	0	3
Middle Atlantic	0	4	0	0	0	4
Southern	0	1	2	0	0	3
East North Central	0	1	3	1	0	5
West North Central	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pacific	0	3	2	0	0	5
Total	0	11	8	1	0	20
Y.W.C.A.						
New England	0	1	0	0	0	1
Middle Atlantic	0	1	1	0	0	2
Southern	0	1	0	1	2	4
East North Central	0	0	0	0	0	0
West North Central	0	2	1	0	1	4
Pacific	0	1	1	1	0	3
Total	0	6	3	2	3	14
New England	0	6	1	0	0	7
Middle Atlantic	0	9	2	1	1	13
Southern	0	2	2	3	2	9
East North Central	0	3	5	1	1	10
West North Central	0	6	3	1	3	13
Pacific	1	4	4	2	2	13
Grand Total	1	30	17	8	9	65

TABLE LXXX—RATING OF THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE AGENCIES IN COUNTIES WHERE THERE IS MORE THAN ONE AGENCY

Two Agency Communities		*Frequency*
1st Agency	*2nd Agency*	*of Occurrence*
Very good	Good	1
Good	Good	7
Good	Fair	3
Good	Poor	1

TABLE LXXX—Continued

Two Agency Communities			*Frequency*
1st Agency	*2nd Agency*		*of Occurrence*
Good	Very poor		1
Fair	Fair		1
Fair	Poor		2
Three Agency Communities			
1st Agency	*2nd Agency*	*3rd Agency*	
Fair	Fair	Poor	1
Fair	Poor	Very poor	1

TABLE LXXXI—RELATION BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF AGENCIES PER COUNTY AND THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE AGENCY

Agency and Financial Condition	*Number of Agencies in County*			
	1	*2*	*3*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A.				
Very good	0	1	0	1
Good	6	7	0	13
Fair	2	3	0	5
Poor	3	3	0	6
Very poor	2	2	2	6
Total	13	16	2	31
Boy Scouts				
Very good	0	0	0	0
Good	2	7	0	9
Fair	3	3	2	8
Poor	1	0	0	1
Very poor	0	0	0	0
Total	6	10	2	18
Y.W.C.A.				
Very good	0	0	0	0
Good	0	6	0	6
Fair	1	1	1	3
Poor	0	1	1	2
Very poor	3	0	0	3
Total	4	8	2	14
Total				
Very good	0	1	0	1
Good	8	20	0	28
Fair	6	7	3	16
Poor	4	4	1	9
Very poor	5	2	2	9
Grand Total	23	34	6	63

Chapter IX

CONTACTS AND REACTIONS IN THE LOCAL FIELD

The report is concerned with a body of work for youth for which rural communities feel the need. So much is this true that in 46 per cent. of the cases studied the communities had secured the work for themselves on their own initiative and with only the long-range assistance of the national agencies. In forty-six counties out of fifty-three, however, national agencies have been found territorially organized. They thus help communities and their boys and girls more adequately. Incidentally they send their representatives and make their requirements. They regularize communities, use them as promotional centers, cultivate them financially for the support of their own and the national work.

So far this process has been studied chiefly in its external methods and results. The rooting and subsequent naturalization of organization in rural communities have been described. When the story came to deal with supervision and finance, some discussion of the feelings and attitudes of the coöperating constituencies could not be avoided. In the present chapter these become the central theme. How do the communities like their close-at-hand partnership with the agencies, and how do they react to it in judgment and emotion?

Is there, in the first place, any consistent tendency? To this question a fairly confident answer may be given. There is a very general tendency for communities to slip out of the reasonable responsibilities of partnership. In spite of the many ways in which they have made the work of the character-building agencies for youth their own, they are—in intensively supervised territory especially—most of the time somewhat acutely conscious of it as of external origin. Too often, even

after it is apparently thoroughly naturalized in the local community, the work later sinks out of the category of things accepted or taken for granted by the community, and struggles on for a while as something essentially promoted and sustained by energy from outside; or else responsibility is tossed back and forth between national and local agencies, the fortunes of the work being most of the time in the air.

Beyond this most general tendency, and omitting factors that are common to all organized work everywhere such as reaction against failure and restiveness under financial pressure, two very prevalent additional attitudes have already been discovered:

(1) The very frequent lapses of local units of the agencies in rural communities have been accompanied by—probably they have also partially caused—a tendency to shift about from agency to agency. There is a deep-seated trend toward superficial loyalties, a lust for trying something new.

(2) Again, the very general tendency to appreciate the professional supervisor above the territorial organization which he represents, is a somewhat unique reaction in this particular field.

Further reactions divide according to the local situation. One group may be distinguished as the product of the more general and less complicated relation of the national and local agencies; the other as the consequence of the complicating presence of two or more national agencies working in the same field.

GENERAL REACTIONS OF COMMUNITIES

In communities in which only one national agency is working, and where it is a straight problem of adjustment between that agency and local community forces, the two roots of bitterness most frequently encountered were: (a) the alleged rigidity of national policies and decisions, and (b) the financial exploitation of communities under the guise of service.

The preponderance of evidence is that most communities admit that the national agencies bring them something of value, and that the value exceeds the labors and costs involved. This is the result of the testimony of about 500 representative

citizens of the communities studied, which is classified in Table LXXXII.

TABLE LXXXII—NUMBER OF FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE OPINIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONS AND BY THEIR RELATIONS TO THREE AGENCIES*

	Y.M.C.A.		*Boy Scouts*		*Y.W.C.A.*		*Total*	
Occupations	*Favorable*	*Unfavorable*	*Favorable*	*Unfavorable*	*Favorable*	*Unfavorable*	*Favorable*	*Unfavorable*
Non-Participants								
Clergymen	56	23	54	7	21	10	131	40
Business men	35	6	32	5	3	0	70	11
School Superintendents and Principals	25	10	12	2	15	5	52	17
Other professions	18	3	14	2	1	1	33	6
Housewives	3	1	4	0	11	4	18	5
Political officials	2	1	7	2	1	0	10	3
Participants								
Officials	10	1	11	4	2	1	23	6
Volunteers	11	2	27	1	9	2	47	5

* For occupations furnishing a total of ten or more opinions.

This shows conclusively that the communities want the agencies, all things considered. The problem just now under discussion is, however, whether these values are offered in the most acceptable manner considering essential relationships. Generally, as is shown in Chapter VII, the issue is not drawn on the failure or personality of the local executive. It is generally conceded that, on the average, he is an able man of acceptable personality. But communities frequently do not understand the efforts of the national agencies to secure standardized results by enforcing specific requirements, and feel that they are dealing with rigid overhead organizations rather than with adaptable and sympathetically helpful ones.

Again, while very generally absolving the local executive on the ground that he cannot help himself, communities suspect the national agencies of offering service in the promotional spirit and for the sake of laying a foundation on which they may carry on financial solicitation. Back of both of these atti-

tudes is frequently the sense, already mentioned, of the externality of the national agencies. Personal contacts are inadequate with the bulk of supporting constituencies; and communities, especially the remoter ones, never get over feeling that they are dealing with alien and unfamiliar forces. This is doubly true when the headquarters of the agency is located in some place that has bitter rivals within the area presumed to be a unit of organization. In such cases the executive is quickly accused of belonging to the headquarters place to the neglect of others.

It goes without saying that cordiality, patient explanation and the sympathetic spirit of service should be employed to overcome such attitudes and that the agencies should frequently re-examine their own motives and policies to assure themselves that these attitudes are never justified.

ATTITUDE OF LEADERS OF INDIGENOUS AGENCIES

The most significant aspect of the judgments upon the agencies is not seen till one considers their source.

The educators, bringing an unfavorable verdict one-fifth of the time, were their most frequent critics. Next to them came the ministers, 23 per cent. of whom were strongly critical. These are the representatives of the major indigenous agencies of the rural community.

Behind their attitudes can be discerned the supposed influence of the work of the national agencies on the success of home enterprises, of which church and school are the ones chiefly concerned.

Ministers and school men have been the chief promoters of organized work for boys and girls under the long-range auspices of the agencies, but without the local supervision. They agree in liking the agencies best when they can adopt and use them in their own institutions, without intensive supervision or accountability outside of the community. They tend to like the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts best because they are (or have been) able to do this under these movements. They have liked the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associa-

tions less because these agencies have generally not spread without promoting agents. The territorial organization necessary to support such agents is not always acceptable to the local church and school.

Church and school, then, are more frequently friends of the work per se than they are friends of the work under paid supervision. Many qualifications to this generalization are necessary, but the attitude stated was strongly marked in the territory studied.

Ministers frequently say that the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations affect their Sunday schools and religious guidance of youth, and not always favorably. School authorities in small communities frequently feel a conflict between their assumed responsibility for the guidance of youth in leisure time and in organized athletics, and the leadership and programs of the agencies. The church frequently says that the agencies are less religious than it is, and the school that they are less competent educationally.

QUALIFIED APPROVAL

As already shown, the preponderant attitude toward the agencies on the part of church and school is favorable. These are their chief fostering and sponsoring organizations in local communities. Nevertheless the testimony was literally crammed with evidence showing the seriousness of the problem of their judgments as leaders of indigenous agencies. Almost without exception, executives testified that the attitude of the churches was crucial for their work. Often they found that attitude less sympathetic and comprehending than they felt it ought to be.[1]

[1] The secretary of a well-established Young Men's Christian Association gives the following account of the ministers in his county: 75 per cent. accept it because of its general reputation and strong local backing. Twenty-five per cent. oppose it because they think it superfluous; the church could do it just as well. But, he significantly adds, the rural churches are much more open to group work because they generally do not have resident pastors with whom it is necessary to reach agreement. Field study, in other counties, found numbers of ministers personally averse to the work of similar agencies, but who restrained their public attitudes because the work had the backing of strong members of their congregations.

The point was as often raised by supporters of the work as by its critics.

One cannot avoid the conclusion that the work has been very imperfectly sold to the official guardians and teachers of youth in local communities and that, in spite of the very large development of sponsorship, far too much of it subsists only through excessive and repeated exercise of promotional activities directed from without.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NATIONAL AGENCIES

It has already been pointed out that the local community often becomes the theater of contacts between similar national agencies, and sometimes their battle ground. The results of such contacts in the counties studied, summarized in terms of coöperation or competition, are given in Table LXXXIV.

TABLE LXXXIII—COMPETITIVE AND COÖPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG LOCAL UNITS OF THE AGENCIES

Competitive Attitudes	*Total Number of Cases*	*Competition between*		
		Two or More of the 5 Agencies Being Studied	*One of the 5 Agencies and Some Other National Character-Building Agency*	*One of the 5 National Agencies and Some Local Agency*
1. Ill will between officers pronounced..	1	1	0	0
2. Strong mutual resentment	4	2	1	1
3. Mild one-sided resentment	1	0	0	1
4. Incidental depreciation of one another	7	4	1	2
5. Acknowledgment of incidental rivalry but without resentment or depreciation	5	5	0	0
6. Competition accompanied by widespread community animosity	2	2	0	0

TABLE LXXXIII—Continued

	Total Number of Cases	Competition between: Two or More of the 5 Agencies Being Studied	Competition between: One of the 5 Agencies and Some Other National Character-Building Agency	Competition between: One of the 5 National Agencies and Some Local Agency
Competitive Aspects				
1. For members	10	10	0	0
2. For financial support	6	3	2	1
3. For leadership	4	2	0	2
4. General and deliberate policy	2	1	1	0
Coöperative Methods		*Coöperation between*		
1. Incidental interchange of services	8	6	1	1
2. Recurrent and habitual interchange of services	4	1	2	1
3. Coöperation with another organization of the same agency	6	2	1	3
4. Arrangements mitigating competition:				
(a) Adjustment of age-groups cultivated	2	2	0	0
(b) Geographical division of field.	1	1	0	0
(c) Non-competitive features emphasized	1	1	0	0
5. Joint headquarters with sister organization of same agency	7	0	0	7
6. Joint headquarters with other social agency	5	0	2	3
7. Joint publicity:				
(a) Through Community Chest	3	2	0	1
(b) Two agencies	1	1	0	0
8. Joint financial appeal:				
(a) Through Community Chest	3	2	0	1
(b) With sister organization	3	0	0	3
(c) With other organization	1	1	0	0
9. Interlocking directorates by deliberate policy	4	2	0	2
10. Coöperative organization:				
(a) One agency organizes local groups of another	1	0	0	1
(b) Same groups enrolled under two agencies	1	0	1	0
(c) Two agencies have single executive	1	0	0	1

The tabulation on pages 132 and 133 registers the conscientious effort of the field investigators to classify cases of cooperation and competition which they encountered in the counties studied. Coöperation was considerably more frequent than competition.

No attempt was made to evaluate the several phases of coöperation or of competition as enumerated. The two are often mingled in the same areas and among the same agencies. In general there is too little coöperation and too much competition.

The terms in which the relationships of agencies are described are fairly self-explanatory.

Coöperation ranges from incidental cases, conceded under the pressure of community sentiment, to cases of deep-seated liking and mutual confidence between leaders and organized community councils in which all the agencies have representation.

METHODS OF COÖPERATION

The agencies are occasionally found mitigating the evils of competition by such radical methods as the following: (1) Stressing work for different age-groups. (2) Tacitly agreeing upon a division of territory within a county. (3) Stressing distinct and non-competitive aspects of their programs.

Forms of administrative coöperation include joint headquarters, joint publicity and financial appeals. Coöperation in organization occurs very infrequently in the following ways: (1) When one agency establishes local units of another; Young Men's Christian Associations and local Community Service organizations were found starting Scout troops. (2) When the same groups of boys and girls are recognized as belonging to two agencies at once; as was the case of Young Men's Christian Association and Junior Extension groups in two or three counties. (3) When agencies employ local joint representatives. One case of this was found when Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts had accepted a joint executive under the compulsion of community sentiment.[2]

[2] Sporadic cases of similar cooperation were found outside of organized counties.

COMPETITION

Tracing the competitive series, one starts with positive expressions of ill-will between agency representatives. Less outspoken, but smouldering and eating at the situation, is resentment that does not take overt form. Milder than this, but slyly mischievous after the fashion of Puck, is incidental depreciation involving the little thrusts and pin pricks that agencies give one another. The least emotional of the competitive attitudes is one in which the fact of competition is recognized, but without resentment or depreciation of the competing agency, which is rather regarded with medieval gallantry as a foe worthy of one's steel. As so far defined, the competitive attitudes have concerned the active participants in intensive organization. When animosities are deep-rooted they sometimes involve entire communities and tend to line up the entire population on one side or the other.

In counties where any national agency has an intensive organization, competitive possibilities are present to some degree in about three-fifths of the cases, owing to the presence or two or more agencies working for the same age and sex. It is safe to say that whenever there is possible competition there is at least some degree of actual competition. Methods may, however, be classified as either unescapable or deliberate.

Where two or more similar agencies are present in a county a struggle for members, for financial support, and for leadership is almost necessarily involved. While it is quite true that at best only a small fraction of the boys and girls of a given age-group are reached by all the agencies combined, and still more true that their total financial cost is not impressive, nevertheless, on top of other demands of the community for allegiance and support, competition is rarely avoided, if ever. The same age-, and sex-groups are cultivated by the same organizations, the same influential backing is sought, and the same community income is tapped.

Deliberate competition is less frequent. It is most often seen in the administration of the programs of the agencies. Sometimes one conducts an aggressive offensive intended to

check and throw back the rival organization. Examples are the bringing on of a financial campaign so as to interfere with the plans of another, or the change of emphasis of program so as to defeat another. It requires only a little turning of the rudder sometimes to take the wind out of another's sails if not to bring about an actual collision. The most flagrant and inexcusable competition was that sometimes found between organizations of the same national area disputing for marginal territory or for alleged rights in the same territory; as where a city and a county unit both claimed the suburbs; or when both solicited financial support from overlapping constituencies.

Two or more of these forms of coöperation or competition were frequently found in the same county. They were recorded only when, in the judgment of the surveyor, they were distinctly present.

Of course, the actual and living situation was tremendously more complicated than any formal analysis sounds. Laughter and tears are quite near neighbors, and similarly competitive and coöperative attitudes alternate if they do not mingle as among the self-same organizations, which are friends after a fashion, and enemies after a fashion, the emphasis changing from day to day as is always true of the complexes of people in contrast with abstractions.

SUMMARY

Generalization on the foregoing data must take account, first, of the general attitudes of communities toward the national agencies; and, second, of their special reactions due to duplicate occupancy and competition.

On the first point, there is grave doubt whether communities, on the whole, are convinced that the agencies are offering them their services on reasonable, equitable and generous terms.

In reaching this conclusion, one faces the possibility that what one finds on the basis of facts as they stood at the time of the field study would not be found over a period of time. One is confronted with the fact that any evidence that one may

have relates to a never-ending process of adjustment between communities and agencies, taking kaleidoscopic form. Any fact which he may have regarded as of to-day may be different to-morrow. Such issues never get settled, because any general adjustment may instantly pass into a specific issue any moment. Specific issues are dictated by passion and prejudice; hence the ebb and flow of attitude, the mixed character of the evidence, and the general instability of relationships.

One must, of course, remind oneself that a similar situation would be found in any other comparable social field. People are continually revising the terms of agreement in all kinds of business partnerships, because human judgments vary as to whether a thing pays or not, whether or not each is getting his share under a given partnership, and whether the intangible factors in a situation are or are not satisfactory. Men change their doctors, barbers, preachers, shoemakers. Social agencies cannot escape the shifting of attitudes on similar grounds.

In the field of investigation, however, the enormous degree of shifting discovered and its generally negative results, tend to prove the fundamental unsatisfactoriness of present methods and adjustments. Certainly the facts fail to show any large general growth of permanent local responsibility under intensive organization.

In contrast with this outcome in the rural field, American cities appear rapidly to be coming to a positive and consistent attitude toward the national promotional agencies.[3] This is particularly evidenced by the rapid spread of the Community Chest movement and the development of councils of social agencies through which the approach of the several agencies to the community is controlled. Why have not rural communities taken a similar attitude? Presumably because of their relative feebleness and lack of acknowledged leadership. The few hundreds of people are too few and too humble to argue or to oppose a nation-wide movement with metropolitan headquarters. But they reserve their liberty to quit when they are not

---

[3] Lee, Pettit and Hoey, *Report of a Study of the Interrelation of the Work of National Social Agencies in Fourteen American Communities,* National Information Bureau (New York, 1923), especially Chapter II.

convinced. Hence the silent dropping out of supporters, the continuous "lying down" on the agencies without argument, the eternal rolling back of responsibility upon alien shoulders.

REACTIONS TO COMPETITION

Generalizing as to the results of duplicatory occupancy of territory, the following seems justified:

Of the counties studied there were four with more than one agency to every five with only one,[4] and just about half of the duplicatory occupancies were competitive.

In only a minority of such cases, however, were the agencies found in an aggressive, fight-to-the-finish attitude toward one another.

Rather frequently, however, the feeling of certain agencies is that if they are only active enough they can "run out" some of their rivals in the rural field at large. This, of course, makes permanently equitable local adjustment difficult.

In the majority of cases studied, the mutual interaction of the community and the nationally promoted, duplicatory work was found to have reached what may be called a sort of tolerant, "side by side" attitude. Back of this, one discerns the habitual, patient but somewhat bewildered, neutrality toward constructive proposals, of the American business man in the small community who wants to back whatever is good for his town. Without attempting an understanding of the whys and wherefores of all of the movements that claim to be useful, he characteristically adopts the policy of favoring them all up to the point when they become so burdensome that he feels compelled to balk.

Under the restraint of this attitude, the presence of several agencies in the same small community does not always work out badly. (1) Generally more boys and girls are brought into organized groups than the non-resident executive of a single agency can get into his organization. (The evidence does not prove, however, that these agencies get more boys and girls than a second worker of a single organization would.)

[4] Table LXXXV.

(2) Frequently a second organization mobilizes a different group of supporters, and secures money and interest not available to the first one.

(3) The expense of overhead administration is frequently not much greater for two organizations than an equal amount of work generally costs under a single organization.

(4) The different agencies represent somewhat different values. Communities do not regard them as entirely interchangeable and frequently feel that their boys and girls profit by the variety of emphasis found in different programs.[5]

After all this is said, it can hardly be asserted that communities really approve their own tolerant "side by side" attitude. It is not the one they would choose as a positive and constructive solution of the boy and girl problem. Whenever they are stirred by a crisis into more critical thinking, they tend to ask why they should have so many different national agencies with such generally similar programs. To this question they can rarely find a wholly satisfactory answer.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

The completed story of the attitudes and reactions of rural communities toward the national agencies suggests further questions.

(1) Is not the essential problem of their relationships, and of the naturalization of externally originating movements serious enough, so that it should not be unnecessarily complicated by the fact of competition between agencies?

(2) Is there not danger that the confusion added to community situations by the competitive presence of the agencies may outweigh the good they may do to local boys and girls? Rural communities doubtless do not manifest any characteristic will to coöperate; and it will probably not do to charge, as the Lee report charges with respect to cities, that the "desire for local coöperation is blocked by national policies."[6] But even if the agencies are not better than the rural communities, ought they to be worse?

---

[5] See pp. 27 f. and 147 f.

[6] Lee, Pettit and Hoey, *Report of a Study of the Interrelation of the Work of National Social Agencies in Fourteen American Communities*, National Information Bureau (New York, 1923), p. 104.

(3) How soon will the terrific mass of unrecorded and conceded failure, and the slowness of communities to assume fixed responsibility, convince the agencies that they must reform some of their attitudes and methods?

(4) Whether communities are wise or foolish, must they not be the ultimate judges of what is good for them, after external agencies have fairly presented their version of better possibilities?

Chapter IX, *Continued*

TABLES

TABLE LXXXIV—NUMBER OF COMPETITIVE AND COÖPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE AGENCIES

	Relationships	
	Competitive	*Coöperative*
Number of counties	15	20
Number of cases	84	104
Particular Agencies		
Y.M.C.A.		
Organizations	14	18
Cases	35	38
Boy Scouts		
Organizations	10	10
Cases	32	22
Y.W.C.A.		
Organizations	6	7
Cases	2	12
Other		
Organizations	4	8
Cases	15	32

TABLE LXXXV—NUMBER OF COUNTIES HAVING SPECIFIED COMBINATIONS OF THE AGENCIES IN COUNTIES INTENSIVELY ORGANIZED BY ONE OR MORE AGENCY

(46 Counties)

Combination	*Number*
One Boys'	18
One Girls'	5
Two Boys'	6
Two Girls'	0
One Boys' and One Girls'	10
Two Boys' and One Girls'	5
Two Girls' and One Boys'	0
Two Boys' and Two Girls'	2
Total	46*

* Seven of the 53 counties surveyed are not under intensive organization by any of the specified agencies.

Chapter X

HOW CHARACTER IS DEVELOPED THROUGH ACTIVITY

When the national agencies and the coöperating communities get boys and girls organized into groups, either under intensive or non-intensive supervision, just what do they do with them?

The average parent, it is safe to assume, is little concerned with matters of organization and policy, or of financial and statistical results; but is interested in what his children recognize as the realities of the work, namely, the leader, the group and the program. Of these, the first two have had formal consideration. The present chapter devotes itself to the third. Just what are the characteristic activities of the organized groups through which character is presumed to be developed?

As bearing upon this question, two pertinent views may be brought forward from previous chapters. First, the agencies regard their programs as different in important respects. They also have different methods of arriving at the activities to be followed locally. Some set forth fixed programs supposed to be carried out by their local units throughout the country. Others, while suggesting a wide range of acceptable possibilities, stress the vital importance of discovery by each community of its own program of activity, within the general ideals of the organization. These factors should make for variety in actual practice.

On the other hand, communities have been found using the agencies, to a large extent, as though they were interchangeable. They support now one, now another, and in cases where they are supporting several at once, they often wonder why these cannot be combined. This is testimony to the essential similarity of the work under the several auspices.

What is foreshadowed in these previously made discoveries is directly investigated in the present chapter, which deals with programs of activity for youth-groups as actually encountered in field study.

ACTUAL VS. ADVERTISED PROGRAMS

The wide gulf that stretches between the ideal or standard program and the actuality in the average organized area, may be illustrated by the case of the Young Men's Christian Association.[1] Of the five agencies, it is the only one that reports comparably as to particular elements of program by county units. Its reports, however, cover a limited list of items and fail to tell in how many communities of the county the particular activity listed has gone on and for how long a period during the year. All one knows is that it has been in operation somewhere in the county. The per cent. frequency of the occurrence of thirty-one items of program in the ninety-five organized counties reporting for 1923 is:[2]

Per Cent. Frequency	*Number of Items*
More than 75	8
50–75	8
33–50	8
Less than 33	7

It is to be noted that almost half the items recorded as though it were expected they were to be included in representative programs, occur in less than half the counties, and that almost one-fourth occur in less than one-third of the counties. In other words, out of the total range of rural activities on which the Young Men's Christian Association thinks it important to keep track of its work, most county programs have only a fraction of items. To be specific, industrial and agricultural elements of the programs have a very low frequency indeed.[3]

1 Table LXXXVIII.

2 *Year Book*, pp. 115-116.

3 Exactly the same trend is shown for the other agencies by the relatively small number of members of advanced rank. The greater part of the actual work of an agency is often for "tenderfeet," while much the greater part of the book in which the program is set down concerns various requirements for advanced ranks. The conclusion cannot be avoided that there is a great discrepancy between the announced program and the actual program. The

This shows how far most of the occupied areas are from carrying out the national program in its fullness.

CONTENT OF LOCAL PROGRAMS

When, however, one descends from areas such as counties to individual communities, the case becomes still more serious. The study found great difficulty in reconciling the elaborate programs announced by the agencies with the rather meager facts locally testified to. These facts were discovered by an intensive study of the current year's activities of 152 local units of the five agencies. They are presented in detail in Tables LXXXIX to XCIII. The outstanding discovery was that, in an aggregation of 291 different activities reported by these 152 units, 63 per cent. (nearly two-thirds) were actually in operation in less than 25 per cent. of the groups. The remaining 37 per cent. had a frequency of from 25 to 85 per cent., with a median of almost exactly 50 per cent. In short, the more frequent activities (listed in the tables) occurred, on the average, in only half of the units. Applied to the agencies individually, this means, for example, that if the combined program indulged in by over one-tenth of the local units of the Young Men's Christian Association were taken as a provisional standard, the average unit would score at not more than 33 per cent. in actual performance.[4]

DURATION OF ACTIVITIES

From the standpoint of the length of time per year that a given activity is in operation, the facts are equally striking. The average duration of the longest continued activity found in local units was as follows:

---

agencies are not alone in this regard. Venerable colleges, for example, show a great gulf between the advertisement of curriculum in the catalog and the courses of study actually being given.

[4] It is, of course, recognized that not all items in county programs are intended to be carried out by all local groups. Some are by nature central and apply only to people who can be brought together from their several communities into conferences, etc. These central activities supplement local programs in important ways; but they do not directly reach the majority of members of the groups.

Girl Scouts	38	weeks
Boy Scouts	30	"
Y.M.C.A.	28	"
Y.W.C.A.	16	"
Camp Fire Girls	13	"

Some of the units are in operation only during the school year. The intensive study definitely shows all agencies tending, in the majority of communities, to carry out a much narrower and less continuous program than their announcements confess, or than they themselves probably realize. The portion of the program that actually gets down into use for and by boys and girls in local communities is fairly scanty.

THE COMMON CORE OF VARIANT PROGRAMS

Within organized territory, the agencies commonly make their appeals to the public through bulletins, annual reports and occasional forms of printed publicity. These are the real platforms on which they "go to the county" for support. In these documents the agencies put forward their best foot, in order to impress their immediate constituencies. A careful reading of publicity material accumulated in the files of the study from the county organizations of three national agencies was made, and the number of times a given item of program or activity occurred in such material was noted for items mentioned more than once. The results are given in Table LXXXVI.

It is very instructive that camping is the most frequently proclaimed activity in the advertising material of all three agencies. Conferences (known to include elements of a religious character) and Bible study stand high on the list with the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, while father and son and mother and daughter gatherings are stressed by all three. Athletics are put to the front by the Young Men's Christian Association, and hiking and swimming by the Boy Scouts. Personal health guidance is the guise under which the Young Men's Christian Association concerns itself with physical activity which the boys' organization, on the other hand, gets at by means of outdoor exercise. Social dancing stands high

with the Young Women's Christian Association, as do community interests and group discussions. In these and other minor elements, sex differences are perhaps reflected. This

TABLE LXXXVI—ACTIVITIES IN THE COUNTY PROGRAMS OF THREE AGENCIES RANKED BY FREQUENCY OF MENTION IN LOCAL PROMOTIONAL LITERATURE

Y.M.C.A. (14 Cases)		Y.W.C.A. (8 Cases)		Boy Scouts (9 Cases)	
Activity	*Times Mentioned*	*Activity*	*Times Mentioned*	*Activity*	*Times Mentioned*
Camps	14	Camps	8	Camps	9
Conferences	11	Bible study	5	Father and son gatherings	4
Athletics	11	Social dancing	4	Swimming	4
Father and son gatherings	8	Conferences	3	Hikes	4
Bible study	7	Mother and daughter gatherings	3	Celebrations of holidays	4
Practical Christian service	6	Addresses	3	Patriotism	3
Thrift education	6	Personal health instruction	3	Vocational guidance	2
Swimming	6	Swimming	3		
Group devotional meetings	5	Community betterment	3		
Religious education	5	Group discussion	2		
Socials	4	Vocational guidance	2		
Celebrations of holidays	4	Sewing classes	2		
Athletic meets	4	Rest rooms	2		
Personal evangelism training	4				
Hikes	4				
Vocational guidance	4				
Addresses	3				
Patriotism	3				
Community betterment	2				
Moving pictures	2				
Band	2				
Personal health education	2				
Sex education	2				
Literary programs.	2				
Handcraft	2				
Debates	2				
Ethics of social relationships	2				

is the impression of the work of the agencies that one would get if one were simply to take their current publicity at face value and make no corrections or deductions. It suggests somewhat different programs, but with a common core.

A still stronger demonstration of the common elements in the several programs of the agencies is made by a ranking of the thirty-four items that appear in 15 per cent. or over of the local groups. This is shown in Table LXXXVII. The construction of the table was as follows: The items were arranged in four equal groups according to degree of frequency for each agency. Those falling in the upper fourth were given a value of 4, in each case, etc. The significance of the ratings was thus:

4 = most frequent
3 = above average frequency
2 = below average frequency
1 = least frequent

The aggregate value of each item for the five agencies was found by addition, and became the item's final ranking value as shown in the last column of Table LXXXVII.

TABLE LXXXVII—COMMON ELEMENTS IN THE PROGRAMS OF ALL THE AGENCIES

	Agency					
	Y.M.C.A.	*Boy Scouts*	*Y.W.C.A.*	*Girl Scouts*	*Camp Fire Girls*	*Total Score*
Common to All and most frequent with All of the Agencies						
Personal standards	4	4	4	4	4	20
Group standards	4	4	4	4	4	20
Socials	4	4	4	4	4	20
Camping	4	4	4	4	4	20
Addresses	4	4	4	4	4	20
Common to All and most frequent with Four Agencies						
Social ethics	4	4	4	3	4	19
Personal health	3	4	4	4	4	19
Father and son events (Mother and daughter)	4	3	4	4	4	19
Common to All and most frequent with Three Agencies						
First aid or home nursing	3	4	3	4	4	18
"Other recreational activities"	3	3	4	4	4	18
Practical service—"good turns"	4	4	4	3	3	18
Patriotism	2	4	3	4	4	17
Athletic contests	4	4	1	4	2	15

TABLE LXXXVII—Continued

	Agency					
	Y.M.C.A	*Boy Scouts*	*Y.W.C.A.*	*Girl Scouts*	*Camp Fire Girls*	*Total Score*
Common to All and most frequent with Two Agencies						
Thrift	3	4	3	4	3	17
"Other health activities"	4	3	3	4	3	17
Group devotional meetings	4	3	4	2	3	16
Anniversaries and celebrations	2	4	4	3	2	15
Bible study	4	2	4	1	2	13
Common to All and most frequent with One Agency						
Swimming	3	4	1	3	3	14
Charity	2	3	2	2	4	13
Common to All and most frequent with None of the Agencies						
Sex Education	3	3	3	2	2	13
Public health activities	3	3	3	2	2	13
Direction of reading	3	2	3	2	3	13
Health examinations	3	3	3	2	2	13
Athletic meets	3	3	1	1	2	10
Vocational guidance	3	2	3	1	1	10
Common to Four and most frequent with Two Agencies						
Dramatics	0	3	4	3	4	14
Conferences	4	3	4	2	0	13
Common to Four and most frequent with None of the Agencies						
Lectures	3	3	2	3	0	11
Common to Three and most frequent with One Agency						
Discussion groups	3	0	4	0	2	9
Common to Three and most frequent with None of the Agencies						
Missionary meetings	3	0	3	0	1	7
Interior decorating	0	0	0	3	3	6
Sewing	0	0	1	2	2	5
Common to Two and most frequent with None of the Agencies						
Domestic Science	0	0	0	2	2	4

The five items tending to greater frequency with all agencies are (1) inculcation of standards of personal character; (2) inculcation of group standards; (3) socials; (4) camping; and (5) listening to profitable or entertaining addresses. This is the actual heart of the program of the agencies for youth; and these are its predominant methods. Inculcation of social ethics in some phase, attention to personal health, and gatherings attempting to interpret fathers and sons or mothers and daughters to each other, are the three next most general and frequent elements. "First aid" or home nursing, recreational activities, practical service ("good turns," etc.), patriotism and athletic contests also tend to general use in local programs.

The ranking of these thirteen items indicates the reality of the common core of all the programs, and marks the dwindling away of the common trend toward minor diversities.

DIVERGENCES

Divergence of program properly appears as between girls' and boys' organizations. The confessedly "Christian" agencies naturally stress the formal elements of religious activity, such as Bible study and missions. The Young Women's Christian Association tends to indoor activities somewhat more than do the other agencies. Other important divergences appear in this table and in Tables LXXXIX to XCIII, all of which deserve careful study.

SUMMARY

In program, as well as in method, leadership, and the objective characteristics of their groups, the agencies are very much alike. Only a meager part of their programs actually gets down to the local groups. Within the very few years for which they hold the average member, the duration of any particular activity is relatively brief. This evidently explains the relatively small advancement of the average member.[5] Does it also prove that character cannot be developing very fast?

[5] P. 70.

FURTHER PROBLEMS

Beyond the inquiry as to whether the agencies cannot contrive to do more thorough-going work with the local group, lie other and still more deeply rooted problems.

(1) Is not the impressive common element of program of all the agencies probable evidence that all are on the right track? May one not accept the common core as a reflection of a true understanding of boy and girl nature? If so, directed activity has discovered its three R's, comparable with those of the school curriculum. When regional environments and the rural vocations are a little more fully provided for in the activities and requirements of the agencies, need one seek elsewhere for evidence of what, generally, American boys and girls should have done for them?

(2) Is the brevity of the specific influences counted on to develop character a defect necessarily fatal? The question of the natural, psychological duration of the phase of adolescent development to which group organization ministers has already been raised. Certain it is that whoever deals with humanity in its plastic years is venturing in a realm whose potencies are not measured by time. "One crowded hour" of crisis may count more in the development of character than months of a slower-going phase of life.

Consequently, while one may be sure that the magic result of work with youth does not depend upon anything peculiar to this agency or that, one is not necessarily convinced that the brevity of the work touches its most essential functions. Besides being on the right track, the work has the essential virtue of timely leadership. The main chance for power with life as a whole lies here and at this time.

(3) In so far, however, as the agencies may lay this flattering unction to their souls, should they not all the more faithfully seek to reach a good understanding with the forces in local communities that have greater continuity of influence, rather than try to go forward alone in the long and varied process of developing human character?

TABLES

TABLE LXXXVIII—ACTIVITIES IN THE COUNTY PROGRAMS OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION RANKED BY FREQUENCY OF MENTION IN 1923 REPORTS FROM 95 COUNTIES

Activity	*Per Cent. of Counties Reporting*
Organized groups	94
Socials and entertainments	94
Boys' Bible study classes	93
Boys' conferences	89
Camps	89
Father and son events	87
"Forward steps"	82
County conventions	75
General lectures and addresses	74
"Decisions for the Christian life"	73
Athletics teams	72
Religious meetings	72
Swimming	64
Athletic meets	61
Schools aided	53
Leaders' training conferences	53
Athletic teams	52
Educational trips	49
Sex hygiene talks	46
Thrift talks	38
Deputation meetings	38
Vocational guidance	38
Life-saving taught	35
Motion picture exhibits	34
Employment secured	33
Men's Bible classes	23
Educational classes	14
Counties serving industrial plants	12
Agricultural clubs or contests	10
Industrial foremen's meetings	7
Enrollment in naturalization classes	5
Athletic leagues in industrial plants	4

(From the Young Men's Christian Association *Year Book*, 1923, page 45.)

TABLE LXXXIX—AVERAGE DURATION PER YEAR OF SPECIFIED ACTIVITIES LISTED BY 41 LOCAL UNITS OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Activity	*No. of Units Reporting**	*Number of Weeks' Duration Per Year-Median*
Bible study	35	20
Personal standards	26	19
Conferences	23	1
Father and son events (Mother and daughter)	21	1
Addresses	20	2
Group standards	20	20
Group devotional meetings	19	24
Athletic contests	17	2
Social ethics	16	8
Socials	16	4
Practical service	15	24
"Other health activities"	14	28
Camping	13	1
Thrift	12	1
Swimming	11	1
Sex education	10	1
Discussion groups	9	19
Lectures	9	2
First aid or home nursing	9	1
Personal health	9	20
Missionary meetings	8	1
Public health activities	8	20
Athletic meets	8	1
Direction of reading	7	2
Health examinations	7	1
Operation of camp	7	5
Evangelistic training	6	2
Vocational guidance	6	1

* Does not include 26 other items reported five times or less.

TABLE XC—AVERAGE DURATION PER YEAR OF SPECIFIED ACTIVITIES LISTED BY 39 LOCAL UNITS OF THE BOY SCOUTS

Activity	*No. of Units Reporting**	*Number of Weeks' Duration Per Year-Median*
Camping	23	1
Patriotism	22	24
First aid or home nursing	22	12
Group standards	20	17
Swimming	19	5
Personal standards	18	30
Thrift	17	8
Athletic contests	16	6

TABLE XC—Continued

Activity	*No. of Units Reporting* *	*Number of Weeks' Duration Per Year-Median*
Celebrations and anniversaries	14	2
Handcraft	14	12
Social ethics	13	10
Socials	13	2
Practical service	11	7
Addresses	11	10
"Other recreational activities"	10	6
Conferences	9	1
"Other health activities"	9	7
Father and son events	8	1
(Mother and daughter)		
Camp operation	8	1
Athletic meets	7	7

* Does not include 36 other items reported five times or less.

TABLE XCI—AVERAGE DURATION PER YEAR OF SPECIFIED ACTIVITIES OF 27 LOCAL UNITS OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Activity	*No. of Units Reporting* *	*Number of Weeks' Duration Per Year-Median*
Conferences	19	3
Personal standards	19	15
Practical service	18	3
Group devotional meetings	17	16
Socials	17	3
Group standards	14	9
Bible study	13	6
Addresses	13	3
Personal health	13	5
Social ethics	11	10
"Other recreational activities"	11	4
Anniversaries	10	3
Camping	10	1
Dramatics	9	2
Formal religious services	8	3
Mother and daughter events	8	1
(Father and son)		
Discussion groups	7	10
Public health	7	1
Missionary meetings	6	4
Direction of reading	6	10
Literary programs	6	3
Sex education	6	3
Vocational guidance	6	1

* Does not include 43 other items reported five times or less.

TABLE XCII—AVERAGE DURATION PER YEAR OF SPECIFIED ACTIVITIES LISTED BY 19 LOCAL UNITS OF THE GIRL SCOUTS

Activity	*No. of Units Reporting**	*Number of Weeks' Duration Per Year-Median*
Home nursing or first aid	14	4
Camping	13	1
Group standards	12	31
Patriotism	12	32
Socials	12	2
Personal standards	10	38
Personal health	10	8
"Other health activities"	10	14
"Other recreational activities"	9	5
Thrift	8	10
Mother and daughter events (Father and son)	8	1
Addresses	7	6
Handcraft	7	12
Athletic contests	7	3
Social ethics	6	12
Domestic science	6	16
Sewing	5	2
Health examinations	5	2
Swimming	5	5
Charity	5	3

* Does not include 34 other activities reported four times or less.

TABLE XCIII—AVERAGE DURATION OF SPECIFIED ACTIVITIES LISTED BY 26 LOCAL UNITS OF THE CAMP FIRE GIRLS

Activity	*No. of Units Reporting**	*Number of Weeks' Duration Per Year-Median*
Handcraft	16	13
Home nursing or first aid	16	4
Group standards	15	11
Socials	15	2
Personal standards	13	12
Mother and daughter	13	1
Camping	13	1
"Other recreational activities"	12	5
Social Ethics	11	10
Patriotism	11	11
Dramatics	10	6
Personal health	9	4
Charity	8	6
Addresses	7	3
Sewing	7	12
Thrift	7	6
Practical services	6	2
Swimming	6	3
Literary programs	5	8

* Does not include 43 other activities reported four times or less.

Chapter XI

IS THE WORK WORTH WHILE?

Of the previous chapters, the data for the first six were almost exclusively factual. The last four, while based on statistical evidence, made increasing use of tabulation and formal interpretations of the judgments of representative citizens of communities in which the work was studied.

As to whether the work, all told, is worth while, the only kind of evidence possible is the judgment of individuals. Ultimately, perhaps, technical tests of character-building processes will be developed and one may be able to isolate particular influences so as to measure their specific contribution to the development of a particular individual or human group. But in actual occurrence, many influences play upon personality at every stage, and character is the resultant of them all. For the present, therefore, one can measure the value of a given force only by the agreement of the verdicts of people standing near to its operation. If responsible citizens, financial supporters, fathers and mothers, pastors and teachers, and the affected individuals themselves (looking back to boyhood and girlhood), say that the work is worth while and that its contribution to character is in considerable measure what its projectors believe it to be, such testimony must be accepted as establishing the fact for the present purposes. The present chapter summarizes the testimony on this point.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE OPINION

The preponderance of favorable opinion regarding the agencies has already been indicated in Chapter IX. Of 509 persons formally interviewed, 412 gave approving verdicts, on the whole, of the agencies operating in their counties or com-

munities, while ninety-seven disagreed. The distribution of favorable and of unfavorable opinion among the agencies is shown in Table XCI, which also shows how many opinions were based upon work territorially organized and how many upon sporadic units of local origin.

TABLE XCIV—NUMBER OF FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE OPINIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS CONCERNING LOCAL WORK OF THREE AGENCIES

		Favorable			*Unfavorable*		
Agency	*Total Persons Interviewed*	*Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Total*	*Intensive*	*Non-Intensive*	*Total*
Y.M.C.A.	217	168	0	168	49	0	49
Boy Scouts	197	116	57	173	21	3	24
Y.W.C.A.	95	57	14	71	23	1	24

There is relatively much less criticism of locally originated work than of that intensively organized and supervised by the agencies. The Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations were regarded unfavorably in about one-quarter of the opinions concerning them, while the Boy Scouts were regarded unfavorably in only 12 per cent. of the opinions concerning them.

ELEMENTS OF VALUE RECOGNIZED

Frequently one person expressed more than one reason for his opinion. Apart from the blanket commendations of the agencies as constructive influences in general, their moral values were stressed more often than any other. This is shown, for an aggregate of 747 formally rendered judgments concerning the agencies, in Table XCV.

The agencies are supported by public opinion primarily because of the belief that they build up the character of the rural youth. The next most frequent reason given was the recognition of their recreational values; then of their religious, social, civic and community-serving aspects in a descending

scale. The most adequate general statement of what the people think the agencies amount to is this: They are character-building influences, primarily by means of their wholesome and constructive recreation, supplying minor values in the fields of religious, social and civic life.

TABLE XCV—DISTRIBUTION OF VALUES ASCRIBED BY REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS TO LOCAL WORK OF THREE AGENCIES

Values	*Y.M.C.A.*		*Boy Scouts*		*Y.W.C.A.*		*Total*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Generally constructive influence	77	23	83	29	29	21	189	26
Moral	58	17	74	27	28	21	160	21
Recreational	66	20	40	15	5	4	111	15
Religious	63	19	7	2	18	13	88	12
Social	27	8	3	1	15	11	45	6
Civic	6	2	45	16	3	2	54	7
Educational	12	4	10	4	4	3	26	3
Community service	4	1	6	2	10	7	20	3
Club work	6	2	0	0	10	7	16	2
Development of leadership	6	2	2	1	6	4	14	2
Group loyalty	3	1	6	2	4	3	13	2
All other	4	1	2	1	5	4	11	1
Total	332	100	278	100	137	100	747	100

A consideration of the sources of the opinions rendered is interesting. Clergymen and school administrators were found to be the most discriminating and the severest critics, while women judged less generously than men.[1]

It is more than likely that financial discontent furnished the real basis of some of the adverse judgments which alleged other reasons. This possibility is suggested in Table XCVI.

FAVORABLE OPINION

The following section attempts merely by catch words and broken sentences to indicate favorable specifications with respect to the work of the several agencies.

Applause for the Y.M.C.A.

The Young Men's Christian Association is praised for the earnest spirit of its summer camps; because it holds boys for

[1] P. 130.

the church and reaches the young men with whom the church has failed; "it presents the ideal of service as an essential part of religion"; its summer conferences have repeated approbation; it develops students into Christians; it promotes Bible study; carries on specific pieces of religious work, like daily vacation Bible schools. In a number of cases it is said to have promoted Protestant church coöperation.

In the moral realm it stands for clean athletics and fairness in sports. "It has brought a great change in the sportsmanship of our high-school games." It keeps boys out of temptation. Boys who have been Pioneers show the effect in their character when they enter high school. The Hi Y program helps school morale. "Y" influence reduces smoking in the high school. "Y" work teaches manners to boys who have been brought up in poor environments.

The Young Men's Christian Association program is frequently recognized by school administrators as well conceived educationally and falling in with the school process. It is said to stimulate scholarship. Numerous cases of its influence in sending boys to college were recorded. It directs the gang spirit constructively. In a considerable number of cases cultural service to the community, like the supplying of a lecture course, were mentioned.

On the recreational side, the Young Men's Christian Association is regarded as helping in physical development and manliness. Camps and hikes are praised. It organizes athletics constructively. Play-day festivals are frequently mentioned. Sometimes it affords clubrooms which are the headquarters of wholesome recreation for boys.

The aspects of service most frequently expressed are those of helping in church services and community money-raising campaigns. Important social relationships are said to result from father and son banquets. "It makes the business man take a more responsible attitude toward boys."

The promotion of boys' group life under good leaders is often praised. The discussion groups thus organized promote thoughtfulness.

Other favorable comments are that the Young Men's Chris-

tian Association reaches older boys better than the Scouts do. It sometimes interests professional and business men in Bible study or systematic athletics. It fosters community gatherings. Among the most convincing testimonies offered have been those of fathers with respect to its helpfulness to their own sons. "It did much for my three boys."

Summarizing: the activities of the Young Men's Christian Association most often approved are the father and son banquets, summer camps and conferences. This organization's outstanding religious influence is the development of Christian leaders. Its strong effects in the realm of practical morals through recreational activities is stressed. It has kept many individuals in school and carried them on into higher education. Its technique for character-building through group life is good, and often secures high-grade leadership.

An additional merit often noted by the investigator is that in a considerable number of cases its influence continues through a long period of years and that the professional corps of Young Men's Christian Association has been notably recruited from the ranks of the rural work.

Praising the Boy Scouts.

The activities of the Boy Scouts most frequently commended are hikes and camps and participation in patriotic and civic celebrations. In the religious realm they are said to have helped Sunday school, and to have brought boys into the Sunday school. Scouting is widely regarded as a good supplemental feature in a church program. Its non-sectarian character and appeal to all classes is stressed. "The Scout oath," says a college professor, "is more religious than the modern 'Y.'"

Character-building in boys is regarded as the main value of Scouting. It teaches manliness, makes boys honest and honorable. It helps school discipline. It promotes clean athletics. The Scout principles are high and there is noticeable effort to live up to them. Boys become independent, helpful and trustworthy. That Scouting keeps boys from smoking is frequently noted. "Boys learn to help the needy and aged."

Commendation more technically expressed frequently says

that Scouting carries the boys through the adolescent crisis; that it meets the demands of boy psychology. It is valued because it teaches thrift and handcraft.

In its recreational program the values of physical development are very strongly stressed, while the merits of nature study have frequent mention.

As involving the group organization, Scouting teaches team work. It prevents destructive gang activity. Property is said to be better respected in the community. "Scouting is democratic in its influence in this snobbish community."

The civic aspects of social service are most often cited, and a large number of items are favorably commented upon, such as messenger service, assistance in Red Cross drives and financial effort for other social agencies; clean-up week; police duty at parades and celebrations; acting as aids at county fairs; promotion of fire-protection campaigns; taking of school census.

Summarizing: Scouting is regarded as a movement inculcating moral idealism. It is suited to the nature of the boy and develops his character. It is particularly strong on the side of civic usefulness and in fitting the future citizen for his responsibilities.

Virtues of the Y.W.C.A.

The Young Women's Christian Association was present in a smaller number of the counties surveyed, and consequently fewer opinions were secured concerning it.

Its religious values are said to be the setting up of more refined and more spiritual standards of living, and the bringing of girls into helpful church relations.

In moral development the building up of a sense of the girls' responsibility is most often stressed. That the Girl Reserves improve the moral tone of high school is a very frequent testimony. Thoughtfulness toward the needy is a result of Young Women's Christian Association training.

Educationally speaking, stress on personal hygiene and home interests are most often mentioned. The Young Women's Christian Association is said to provide healthy amusement; but its strictly recreational features are less often commended

than might be expected. The group life of girls, and especially the discussion groups are praised as conducing to responsibility and thoughtfulness. In implied contrast with some other girls' organizations, it is stated that the Young Women's Christian Association inculcates democracy.

Rather more than for the agencies for boys, commendation of the Young Women's Christian Association relates to its service for specific classes. The organization of business women has frequent mention, as well as service for industrial girls. Its standardized costumes in the high school are said to help poor families. "It shows the sexes how to mingle in the right spirit." In the realm of social service it teaches the girl to know her own community. It assists in church activities, charity and social service. "It is the only agency reaching industrial girls." Special phases of work like service in berry-pickers' camps are sometimes indicated.

Of the service activities of the Young Women's Christian Association, those most appreciated are rest rooms, information service, cafeterias and girls' camps.

Summarizing: somewhat specialized values are outstanding in the commendation of the Young Women's Christian Association. It has left a stronger impression in its ministries for business and working girls and in community service than it has as an agency for what is regarded as the normal girl living at home. Personal ideals and gracious development of character are widely recognized results. The development of intelligence concerning women's problems is also recognized, as is the democratic character of the movement.

UNFAVORABLE OPINION

Ninety-seven unfavorable opinions are not formally classified as the favorable opinions are. Statistically speaking, the number of cases in which a given criticism occurs is relatively small. Often the uncomplimentary views were less dignified than the favorable ones and perhaps more often they were harder to state. Critical judgments are more original and less conventional than favorable ones; more subtle; sometimes more pro-

found. It is also to be said that negation does not lend itself to orderly categories.

Knocking the "Y."

The line of objections the Young Men's Christian Association most often encountered is suggested by the following: It has no grip; it is lukewarm; not really alive; dead. These are some of the uncomplimentary pronouncements frequently encountered. A not infrequent caricature of its annual cycle is, that it begins with a banquet, followed by a financial campaign, after which a series of clubs is organized, most of which lapse before the end of the year. The next year the thing is done all over again. There is little real continuity.

Again, the "Y" is criticized because it assumes to supplement the church and Sunday school but does not really do so. It is regarded as parasitic and not really wanted, or needed, in addition to the work of the churches. It is said to be "not very religious."

From the standpoint of the school, it is condemned because it is limited to the high school. It does not reach boys out of school. It embarrasses the school by attaching itself to a program into which it brings an element foreign to the original purpose. It does not attract the most virile boys. It works with boys who would be good anyhow and neglects the needy type. Other complaints are that it has only a narrow program, consisting chiefly of summer camps. It cannot control the boys who break furniture in the places in which they meet. The county organization does not reach local problems. The work in the several localities is intermittent. It is weak because of lack of facilities. All the boys care for is to have a good time.

Badness of the Boy Scouts.

Unfavorable opinions concerning the Boy Scouts include the following: They are not popular nor really useful, but are imposed upon the community by manufactured sentiment. Scouting does not last well. The results in character are negative. The boys abuse property. The Scout oath is not kept. The program is not seriously nor well carried out. Civic in-

fluence is slight. The type of boy who most needs help is not included. Scouting is secularized, and its influence conflicts with that of the church. The boys are taken on Sunday hikes, which is improper. Local leaders are not satisfactory from the moral standpoint. "I don't want my boy to be under a cigarette smoker." Scouting does not reach the older boys, nor meet the boy problem of the community in its most difficult phases.

Ungallant Opinion of the Y.W.C.A.

The most frequent criticism of the Young Women's Christian Association was that the movement lacks a definite objective and registers little actual accomplishment. It is too much in the air. Specific benefits are impossible to trace.

The Young Women's Christian Association does not reach the class of girls for whom it was organized, especially working girls. It is a mere social program. It lacks spirituality. "It is not so religious as the Young Men's Christian Association." It denies its essential Protestant character. "There is no 'C' in the Young Women's Christian Association." Its sociology is half-baked. Its groups have spasmodic organization and intermittent existence. Its influence detracts from the churches and makes church allegiance secondary. It wields no adequate rural influence, and the neediest communities have the least help. It favors dancing.

SUMMARY

The cumulative evidence, though with considerable qualification and some dissent, is that the work is worth while. In this judgment the makers of the study concur with considerably greater heartiness, all things considered, than the communities have shown. The attitudes of representative citizens are important, but not final. Their communities are as much on trial before the bar of public opinion as the agencies are. Perhaps they should be more so. The field investigation discovered shocking and depressing cases of the war between age and youth, of general grouchiness on the part of communities, of

what, from the standpoint of the study, looks like terrible theological narrowness and unwillingness to recognize the religious significance of some of the profounder factors of human nature, to say nothing of petty and repressive ethical standards.

Under such conditions any movement that tries to "turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children and of the children unto the fathers" is bound to have a gloriously difficult time.

Consequently, while admitting that the rural work of the agencies has not yet reached any very impressive dimensions, and while finding in it many traits that should be changed, the study concludes that it constitutes an important service to a considerable number of communities and their boys and girls, and that it is no mean asset to rural civilization. The influence of the combined movement of the character-building agencies extends, of course, far beyond the 330,000 youth in organized groups, and the relatively brief period of human life they represent. It organizes considerable numbers of adults in the service of youth and to a smaller extent for adult and general community ends.

Yet the largest claims for the importance of the work cannot hold that it is at all comparable with the magnitude of the problem of serving rural America. The field as a whole is not really occupied. It is because the laborers are so few that one has the greater inclination to say, "God bless anybody who is doing anything."

The total attack of the agencies on the problem is not great enough really to constitute a genuine preëmption of the field. It still remains an unsolved question how the work is to be done on a larger scale. All the organizations and activities treated in the present study constitute only a set of experiments and examples of attempted adjustments between national and local forces. Nowhere do they point to an assured solution. The field has merely been illuminated. Nevertheless the study feels that it will not have been in vain if it can project into the arena of practical discussion the long series of questions it has raised —questions all of which can be compressed into one big final question; namely, how can the total work be done better in the future?

TABLE

TABLE XCVI—NUMBER OF ADVERSE JUDGMENTS REGARDING THE WORTH-WHILENESS OF THE WORK OF THE AGENCIES COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH FINANCES ARE REPORTED "POOR"

Agency	*Aggregate Number of Unfavorable Opinions*	*Number of Times Finances Reported Poor in the Same Territory*	*Number of Independent Opinions that Work Was Not Worth Its Financial Cost*
Y.M.C.A.	144	32	6
Boy Scouts	65	14	9
Y.W.C.A.	39	14	5

PART II: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PART II: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter XII

ATTITUDES AND ASSUMPTIONS

As indicated at the outset, it was fundamental to the theory of this study that its results should be submitted to thorough criticism and discussion before final formulation; and that its final conclusions and recommendations should be reached through this sifting process. A long series of interviews with representatives of the agencies and advisors culminated in the two findings conferences already alluded to.[1] Previous to these conferences the complete statistical data of the report had been put in the hands of the agencies, together with a manuscript of interpretation embodying the substance of this report and much more expanded documents dealing with presuppositions and recommendations. Formal criticism in writing was invited. The findings conferences had before them this entire body of material. The conclusions of the investigator were then summarized, verbally amplified and discussed topic by topic. The discussion was naturally selective, some topics evoking much more interest and difference than others. About 115 illuminating judgments or formally expressed attitudes of participants were recorded in the minutes of the conferences and considered in the revision of the report.

There was little challenge of the facts as discovered; and the only serious criticism of presentation was that the verbal explanation did not always bring out all discrimination among agencies which the data showed. Upon matters of interpretation and conclusions quite radical differences of opinion naturally discovered themselves.

Of course such a result was to have been expected. Neither the author of the report nor any participant in discussion ap-

[1] Preface, p. x; and Appendix, p. 237.

proached the data with an entirely blank mind. Each one inevitably brought to its consideration numerous tacit assumptions and working hypotheses and convictions. Under such conditions, evidence, limited both in amount and scope—and confessedly not touching all pertinent aspects of the field of investigation—could only point to certain presumptions and raise further problems. It could not yield an extensive set of coercive conclusions.

One of the chief objects of discussion as formally provided for in the findings conferences was to develop the predetermined positions of the participants, to discover the assumptions implicit in them, and to get them confessed. Only so, it was believed, could the emergence of major issues be explained or the attitudes adopted toward them and toward concrete suggestions involving action, be understood.

Making the data, problems and recommendations actually presented to the findings conference its point of departure, Part II of this report undertakes to present these assumptions, issues and reactions in the terms of their actual disclosure and development.

In other words, it is a narrative of the course of discussion as well as an exposition, culminating in statements of degrees and kinds of agreement or disagreement reached. The study thus goes beyond a mere investigation of the work of the agencies. It ends by being a report upon the minds of the representative group participating in the discussion.

The first step is to bring out the most general attitudes of the participants and to trace them to their underlying assumptions. This is the theme of the present chapter.

GENERAL ATTITUDES

Among those who, first and last, were concerned in the formulation of the study, six distinguishable attitudes of the more general sort were traceable. These constitute a series as follows:

(1) That such work as the character-building agencies do is not worth undertaking and should not be undertaken for boys and girls anywhere.

(2) That it should be undertaken for city boys and girls, but not for rural ones.

(3) That it should be undertaken for rural boys and girls, but not primarily or to a permanently significant extent through the national agencies under consideration.

(4) That it should be undertaken for rural boys and girls through the present national agencies loyally identifying themselves with local communities and subject to such correction of method as the facts of the study might point out, especially in the direction of better coöperation.

(5) That it should be undertaken for rural boys and girls through the present national agencies, with only such regard for local communities as may be necessary to make the work of the individual national agencies successful.

(6) That it should be undertaken for rural boys and girls through a totally new national agency founded upon a more inclusive idea of coördinate national and local coöperation, because it is hopeless to expect the present agencies to reform.

Of these six positions the first and two last were only held exceptionally. The world at large, however, undoubtedly holds multitudes of people who regard the entire vision and task of the agencies as mere "kid stuff," and are ready to use any show of unreason on the part of the latter as grounds for dismissing the whole matter with contempt. To brand this as cynical ignorance of the issues of boy and girl life does not make it any less serious as a factor in an adverse environment.

At the other extreme, by revulsion from the self-confident and headstrong position which some of the agencies appeared to reveal in discussion (Number 5 above), a counter proposal was provoked; namely, to scrap all of the existing agencies and to begin a new nationally promoted work for boys and girls from the ground up.

THE MOST PREVALENT ATTITUDES

Disregarding such views as extreme, it is necessary to take serious account of three divergent positions more widely held. These may be elaborated as follows:

(1) That it is impossible to do much of anything for the rural boy and girl through any attempted mobilization of national resources. This view held that rural life is under permanent and irremediable handicaps, and that the accident of being born in the country makes it hopeless for youth to expect the same advantage that its urban contemporaries have and take for granted.

(2) That the work for rural boys and girls should be left to the present forces commonly existent in such communities. This view had its more optimistic and more pessimistic versions. According to the first, no special national effort for rural youth is necessary because rural life is fairly self-sufficient and the processes of improvement already naturalized and widely operative in the country are all that is necessary. According to the more urgent view, the enlistment of suitable men and women for personal leadership of boys and girls, the organization of boys and girls in natural age- and sex-groups and the carrying on of a set of constructive activities congenial to the spirit of youth, are indispensable services requiring special attention; but properly they belong to the indigenous rural agencies, especially to the church and school.

(3) That the present national agencies have made a good start and have shown large capacity for leadership of boys' and girls' work. According to this view, the call of the nation to help the country is clear and absolute. The first line of responsibility is indeed held by those agencies already most deeply rooted in the rural community, namely, churches, schools and organizations growing out of agriculture and the peculiar social life of the countryside. Whatever other agencies are mobilized in behalf of town and country youth must learn to coöperate with these already bearing primary responsibility and already in possession of the field. But, on the other hand, the indigenous agencies are too weak to succeed alone. There must be a partnership of local and national effort for the boys and girls of rural America.

Defining the matter more concretely, those holding the second and third positions, as just stated, tended to fall into three rather distinct groups; namely, partisans of the church, parti-

sans of the agencies, and the rural sociologists occupying a mediating position. Those whose antecedents and official allegiance were with and to the church almost uniformly wished to make it the center of the improved rural character-building processes. They were consequently more impressed by the evidence of the weakness of the agencies than by any signs of their strength and serviceableness.

The representatives of the agencies were naturally loyal to their positions and relationships, with some possible tendency to minimize the integrity of the local community. The sociologists did not see why, with reasonable compromise, the two positions could not be combined and the values of both conserved.

THE POSITION OF THE REPORT

This latter is essentially the position of the study, one which, it is confessed, has been implicit throughout its process and conclusions. It was presented, however, with the following necessary qualifications and refinements:

(1) The possibilities of nationally organized boys' and girls' work—at least in its most characteristic form; namely, local group or organization—do not apply to the whole field of rural life. The distribution of rural population makes such a result impossible.[2] The human material necessary to constitute a directed boy and girl society is not found in the average rural neighborhood. The average social group in which country people live is not large enough for proper organization, either spontaneous or directed. Thus the organized groups of the five national agencies studied average twenty members.[3] This may be taken as a normal unit as determined by experience. But (upon evidence already presented) 75 per cent. of all rural communities either have centers in hamlets of 250 people or less, or are open-country communities without any center at all. Sixty per cent. of all rural population lives under such conditions.[4] The average hamlet community would then have

2 Table XVIII.
3 P. 58.
4 Table XVIII.

just about twenty boys and twenty girls of the age suitable for development through group organization and actually reached by the agencies in communities where they are present. Since it is practically impossible ever to reach 100 per cent. of the youth population, the available hamlet group is too small; while the average boy and girl group of the open-country community is absolutely too small. In other words, the communities in which the majority of rural people live have an insufficient population basis to provide for the normal development of youth through group organization. Hundreds of thousands of one-room schools have an insufficient number of boys and girls either to form spontaneous groups for self-education or to form groups under leadership, even if leadership were present, as it conspicuously is not. There are not enough boys to make a ball team, nor girls enough for a successful corn or canning club. With so slight a range of selection, it is impossible for a large number of these communities to find a really first-class school director or an efficient president for a farmers' club. School grading is impossible. There are not enough different kinds of temperament, either among boys and girls or among men and women, to afford satisfactory or stimulating companionship. There are not enough men of like interests to undertake specialized enterprises depending upon a common fund of experience, for example, like stock breeding. There are not enough consumers to make any form of cooperation economical. Finally, there is not sufficient range of selection in choosing a husband or wife. This is what undertaking rural social life on the basis of too narrow a neighborhood means.

(2) Meeting positively the issues raised by Chapter III,[5] the report held that there are large areas of rural civilization as thus organized into which nationally promoted boys' and girls' work can penetrate only by permeation of ideas. The real solution must be a gradual regrouping of rural people in larger numbers, either around centers or around more commanding open-country institutions. Yet even as rural society is now organized, permeating ideas resulting in spontaneous local or-

[5] P. 56.

ganization can be pushed very much farther than at present. Such organization will be often short lived, unstandardized, yet many times vital and functionally effective. Stimulating and assisting it at long-range constitutes one of the greatest permanent uses of the national agencies.

(3) There remains the still more limited possibility of territorial organization with intensive supervision, under conditions and relationships which the later development of the discussion brings out.[6]

With these qualifications, and in this sense, the report assumed a positive advocacy, in their rural work, of the national agencies which it investigated, and posited its recommendations upon this position.

UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

Actual discussion allowed many of the prevailing positions as described above to be traced back to their parallel or underlying assumptions. Two sorts of assumptions naturally appeared: (1) those growing out of the particular function of the agencies as actual promoters and executives of the work under investigation, and hence peculiar to them; and (2) those growing out of a generally favorable attitude toward work for rural boys and girls and open both to its active participants and its friends.

ASSUMPTIONS PECULIAR TO THE AGENCIES

Of assumptions peculiar to the agencies, the discussion most completely revealed two: (1) the assumption of a moral or religious "call" to the work; (2) the assumption of great organizational importance and authority.

The "Call" to the Work.

At the May, 1924, conference, Dr. Warren H. Wilson somewhat whimsically proposed that the entire conception of rural character-building effort for boys and girls be resolved into

[6] P. 193.

the presence in the world of a limited number of people who feel an "inner urge" or "call of God" to do such work. People moved by deep conviction, he said, always find other people ready to pay their bills. The agencies are merely the mechanical and fortuitous expression of these vital facts. The fact on which to focus understanding, therefore, is the existence of a set of people possessed by a strong sense that work for boys and girls is committed to them to do.

Discussion pointed that there is a secular idealism involved as well as a religious one, and that the impulses of socially-minded people bear the same generic marks of inner warmth and conviction. There was general agreement that a strong element in the situation is the power of self-evidencing altruistic motive toward rural people. Rural communities cannot be left to their own self-complacency, and indigenous agencies are not alone in responsibility for their own boys and girls!

Organizational Importance and Authority.

The assumption of great organizational importance and authority was occasionally expressed crudely, as when the national policies of one of the agencies were cited as settling some important problem of rural organization. For the most part, however, they were more subtly manifest, expressed piecemeal, forced into the open in the stress of discussion and appealed to on particular issues rather than as general platforms.

Discussion made it very evident, however, that the special call of some of the agencies is regarded by them as very authoritative, and that they feel that they are very distinct from others both in spirit and in technique.[7] It is not enough, therefore, to entrust communities with their ideas and allow them to be adapted to local uses. There must be insistent, face-to-face leadership, the inculcation of particular methods and the development of a special constituency bound together by a peculiar coloring of inner experience. Except for temporary and merely strategic modifications, the work as formulated by the agency must be adopted all in all or not at all.

It was pointed out that this is virtually a sectarian position,

[7] See pp. 142, 149.

and that the attitude of the agencies is sometimes perilously like that of the competing religious denominations in the rural field, except that the denominations have now gone further than the agencies in coöperative adjustments.

In the main, however, it was recognized that such over-insistence upon the special viewpoints of organizations would find its first corrective in the better motives and more liberal impulses of their representatives themselves. The appeal was from Philip drunk to Philip sober. Instead, therefore, of insisting that these representatives were disqualified from common counsels by reason of their peculiar loyalties, it was assumed that, in large measure at least, thinking in common terms was possible.

GENERAL ASSUMPTIONS

The realm of assumption open to all interested in boys' and girls' work includes both the fields of sociological and of psychological thinking.

Discussion of postulates from these fields threw into relief certain differences of opinion concerning the following issues:

(1) Are rural boys and girls under special handicaps as to personal and social development which it is the task of character-building agencies to remove?

(2) Is nationally organized promotion of work in rural communities a legitimate measure of social development; and, if so, what sort of promotion is legitimate?

(3) How important in human development is the group organization of adolescents?

(4) How able are indigenous rural agencies to do the work for themselves?

RURAL HANDICAPS

As bearing on the alleged handicaps of rural boys and girls, the study assumed that the normal development of the human spirit requires means of socialization not generally provided by town and country life. The isolation of the American farm

is commented upon by virtually all sociologists as extreme and unnatural. Man developed his human characteristics in a village environment; but the American village has become seriously distorted in its human composition and is increasingly robbed of its older functions by city and town. It less and less affords wholesome and desirable environment for the development of character, and there is need of special corrective attention in both village and open country to the problems and crises of youth.

A general background for this position was found in well-known tendencies of current rural philosophy such as that of Prof. Charles J. Galpin. From his standpoint "the most significant deficiency and handicap in farm life is a restricted contact with the human mind" incident to rural isolation. "Human contacts, more human contacts and still more human contacts is the slogan remedy of the problem of rural social organization." "The solution of each special social problem will be challenged with the test of 'more contacts.' " [8]

RURAL COMPENSATIONS AND RESOURCES

In holding this position it was not meant to deny certain obvious and frequently emphasized compensations of rural life. On the whole, however, it was affirmed that there is a certain deficiency of development in rural adolescence as judged by the best qualified students. Vital experiences are unduly retarded or permanently obliterated.[9] Of special social evils to which rural youth is subject, a brooding preoccupation with sex, and the frequency of coarse companionship in limited neighborhoods where selection is impossible, are often stressed.

A modifying view was somewhat earnestly presented in discussion; namely, that an equivalent or perhaps a better method of character development is present in the simple relations of the rural home and neighborhood; and that all essential handicaps could be removed if the better possibilities of these relations were realized. This, in some minds, minimized the im-

[8] See Galpin, *Rural Life*, pp. 41-60.
[9] See Alexander, *The Teens and the Rural Sunday School*, pp. 33-40.

portance of the national agencies in their attempt to furnish rural leadership for the constructive activities of boy and girl society.

No absolute agreement was reached upon the degree of handicap which rural boys and girls are presumed to suffer. The trend of opinion was, however, that herein lies a real call for work such as that of the agencies. Its broad justification is that it helps to equalize human opportunity for the less favored populations and communities of America.

INTERACTION OF CITY AND COUNTRY

As to national promotion and aid, the study urged that there is a natural and inevitable process of interaction between city and country which should have its counterpart in deliberate helpful action; that the policy of national stimulus of rural communities is well-established in the economic, educational and religious fields; that the average rural community and rural society as a whole is too undeveloped and feeble to furnish social development for its people merely through resident forces, while, on the contrary, many such communities have gladly organized their youth under the banner of the agencies quite in advance of or apart from their promotional efforts.[10]

Criticism of this position indicated that some were loath to accord to relatively small and new rural forces, like the agencies, the right to operate on theories and sanctions well-established by older movements in defense of their own work. On the other hand, others voiced a definite argument for a system of financial subsidies for character-building work, in the needier rural regions and communities, somewhat analogous to denominational home mission aid.[11]

On the whole, the trend of assumption seemed to be that there is a certain normal circular movement by which the city absorbs much of the most virile population of the country. The city is the theater of its further development and success. Here

[10] P. 39.

[11] Warren H. Wilson, *Report of the Commission on Town and Country Work to the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association* (New York; Association Press, 1925).

people of rural origins gather up the money, the ideas, and the positions of major influence. It is only fitting and right that the city should, in return, project itself helpfully (if it can) into the problems of the country; not only by promotion of organized social ideals, but by such financial provision as will aid in the solution of the problems. This is only the indirect coming home to the country of its sons and daughters.

IMPORTANCE OF GROUP ORGANIZATION

On the question of the importance of the basic method of the work of the agencies for boys and girls; namely, group organization, the preliminary report expanded the position repeatedly suggested in the text. It held that this method is of vast importance because it is a way of dealing with one of the major crises of human development, and that the common technique of the agencies constitutes a social discovery of the first magnitude.

In the development of this position, the significance of the gang was greatly stressed. It was argued that what youth most needs is direction in working out its own salvation through the utilization of its own social tendencies. Joseph Lee was quoted approvingly. "In general," he writes, "it should be said that this method, of developing the spirit of membership by utilizing the gang itself as the natural unit of development, is not an easy one, although it is being successfully practiced by the Boy Scouts and by many of the small-sized boys' clubs and settlements. The soul of the gang is in its independence. Its aim is above all to be itself, the authentic outcome of the actual social spirit of its members, not the offspring of a foreign will. It is as wild as a pack of wolves and almost as hard to tame. And it cannot be caught by any lukewarm morality. Stories of the good boy who died, demands for the passive virtues of patience, resignation, blameless behavior, do not appeal to it. It is positive, masculine, demands rough work, will submit to no spirit less heroic than its own."

In general agreement with Mr. Lee, the report valued highly the attempt of the agencies to organize gang activity construc-

tively, and to dramatize gang impulses, inducing them to work themselves off in mimic forms rather than in violent and explosive feats. It urged that there is no other school like this for emancipating the human spirit, and that each generation must work out a social order for itself under its own leadership and within its own laws. The moral standards thus created are most exacting, making real and imperative demands upon their creators. They are highly concrete, vivid, immediate and compelling. These are the veritable foundations of moral life.

Gang society is a transient experience, but it yields permanent values. Its loyalties may be later transferred from the small group to the school and community, and its limited morals ultimately universalized.

There is no road to personal and social character so effective and so broadly human as this; and the failure of society to utilize it in the education of boys and girls anywhere is a great loss and probably permanently deprives them of some part of their development of character.

RESULTS OF NON-SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In rural society, the most serious results of such failure appear only in adult life. The non-social individualism that makes the adult farmer so often unable to coöperate, the petty self-will of the quarreling village community, the brooding over minor wrongs and insults, the social suspicion and jealousy, the frequent inferiority complex of the country man—all have their main origins in childhood that developed without the adequate discipline of spontaneous group life. Youth did not evolve its own moral standards because it was too much pressed upon by external authority and had too little society of its own devising. The results are the retired farmer opposed to community improvement, and the successful business man whose predatory instincts, rural-born in the overemphasized individualistic traits of childhood back in the country, were only sharpened by contact with acquisitive urban society. The bad man of urban civilization is thus frequently just the grown-up rural boy who had no opportunity to learn team

play and was never a member of a society of youthful equals calling for social loyalty and the sacrifice of personal selfishness. No set of human contacts is more instructive or challenging to a man of imagination than such dealings with youth. Very crude work, of briefest duration and with the slenderest comprehension of the forces inwardly conspiring to produce results, may have untold significance both for the youth who is led and for the assumed leader who thus comes upon human nature in so dynamic a moment and attempts its readjustment.

The author is very sure of these things, not because he has spent the greater part of a year and several thousands of dollars in studying the work of the agencies in fifty-three representative counties geographically compassing the United States; but because forty odd years ago he belonged to a "Boys' Circle" in a small Iowa town, and because later for ten years as a pastor—before its modern technique and national relationships were developed—he tried to carry on boys' and girls' club work.

On the basis of such experience, the report urged strongly that the kind of work which the agencies attempt fills a profound and dignified place in human development; though not in itself making provision for continuity of influence beyond the brief period of early youth.

THE QUESTION OF CONTINUITY OF INFLUENCE

As has previously been noted, certain agencies regard the development of a loyal and properly indoctrinated adult membership as an essential part of their rural service, and as a necessary prerequisite of their normal work for youth.[12] In discussing the preliminary report, these agencies naturally sought to show that in this way they do supply the principle and means of continuity of influence. A member is supposed to progress from stage to stage of development from early youth to adulthood, always under the auspices of the particular agency. This, it was held, is an important point of logical distinction between these and other agencies.[13]

[12] P. 83.

[13] The attitude of the study toward this special argument has already been

LACK OF A CLEAR-CUT PHILOSOPHY

The main discussion as to the importance of the work of the agencies for boys and girls converged upon the question whether they had ever adequately defined their underlying philosophy. They were insistently asked, Just what is it you are proposing to do for American youth?—and were charged with inability to answer convincingly.

The attempted answers ranged all the way from "Look in our manual" to "Read the books classified under 'The Woman Movement' in the public library." Several representatives of agencies pleaded that they are only in the process of working out philosophies and hence have never written them down. There was a general tendency to feel that the theory of adolescent psychology as set forth in the preliminary report was somewhat too definite to serve as a statement of a common basis; and the matter was left with the sense that the agencies, while looking in the right direction, are unable to define exactly and pertinently either their practical differences or their theoretical agreements or disagreements.

ADEQUACY OF THE INDIGENOUS AGENCIES

As to the adequacy of the indigenous agencies, the preliminary report summarized their recognized shortcomings as revealed by previous objective studies as follows.

THE RURAL CHURCH

As an institution, the rural church is characteristically too small for effective work. It is inadequately supported, under a poor financial system. It is sadly lacking in strong, and particularly in residential, leadership and has poor working facilities. Its membership is largely stationary or declining,

implied and expressed. It is a question how far the theory of continuity of influence through permanent adult memberships is, or can be, actually realized. It is also a question whether it is desirable to achieve continuity of influence through individual agencies. If all the agencies tried it and succeeded, would not rural society be encumbered with the equivalent of half a dozen additional sects?

while its work is frequently competitive and dependent upon outside resources. It has a characteristically narrow program. The majority of rural churches do not have services of worship even once a week. One-third of them do not have a Sunday school. Somewhat more than half have only organizations for women.

As related to specialized organizations for boys and girls, the following comparison shows an overwhelming deficiency:[14]

Type of Organization	*Per Cent. of Churches Having*
Women's	55.3
All sexes combined	35.7
Girls'	5.3
Men's	3.7
Boys'	3.7

The average standing of rural churches on the scale of efficiency developed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research is only 40.5 per cent.[15] The conclusion of the rural studies of the Institute is "the greatest untouched field of Christian effort in rural America is the work for boys and girls."

THE RURAL SCHOOL

Nearly half the nation's children still attend schools essentially of the pioneer type. The United States Department of Education characterizes them as "laboring under distinct educational disadvantages." Their teachers are immature, inexperienced and little trained. The school year is short, enrollment frequently low, attendance irregular, the course of study badly planned and the subjects poorly taught, while financial support is meager. The average duration of the country child's education in some of the more distinctly rural states is six and one-half years in villages and less than five years in the open country.

[14] Cf. p. 54.

[15] Morse and Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States*, p. 167.

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

A recent investigation by the Federal Council of Churches shows that farmers' coöperative organizations have as yet made little contribution to community life as such.[16]

In brief, the results of all the indigenous forces of rural America put together are painfully inadequate. And no one else is seriously attempting to render the particular quality of service which the national character-building agencies have undertaken.

NATIONAL VERSUS INDIGENOUS AGENCIES

This statement of the deficiencies of the indigenous agencies seems to leave a great place and responsibility for the national agencies. But the deficiencies quoted are based upon averages derived from the rural situation as a whole. In the main they tell the shortcomings of the communities into which the agencies themselves have not gone. The agencies, especially in their intensively organized phase, have made relatively little headway in radically rural territory. Their very strong affinity for larger towns and small cities was earlier discovered.[17] But the conditions in these places are very much better than the average of the total rural situation. For example, 15 per cent. of the town churches have special boys' organizations and 20 per cent. have special girls' organizations, while more than half of the small city churches have boys' organizations and a third have girls' organizations. The town and small city school is also a very different institution from the purely rural school characterized above in so unflattering terms. The much better showing in such communities partly reflects the presence in them of the very national agencies being studied, often in cooperation with church and school. But the larger towns and cities are also better developed socially all along the line. Finding so much of the so-called rural work of the agencies in them, the report was forced to conclude that the agencies

[16] Landis, *Social Aspects of Farmers' Coöperative Marketing*, p. 48.
[17] Chapter III.

like to go where they are least needed. Naturally too they all like to go to the same sorts of places. This frequently involves competition and other problems of adjustment.[18]

TREND AND OUTCOME OF THE DISCUSSION

Discussion of the four assumptions just considered apparently showed that they lead to the recognition of need of *a* work for rural boys and girls rather than to *the* work of the present agencies. It strongly stressed the failure of the agencies to demonstrate that they can succeed where church and school cannot. The relative inadequacy of all agencies in radically rural territory was conceded; but it was denied that the agencies have a right to postulate this failure as a reason for their own existence when they have not shown conspicuous success in this field.

Concluding the discussion of attitudes and assumptions, the findings conference of February, 1925, entered a consensus of judgment that it is correct for the report to confess the investigator's conviction of the great possible and actual values of the rural work of the agencies. On the other hand, it was agreed that it should be frankly stated that permanent differences of opinion existed in the advisory group as to the ultimate social importance and justification of the work, and the auspices and conditions under which it should be conducted.

This acknowledged disagreement on basic assumptions was inevitably carried over into the further consideration of specific issues.

[18] P. 132.

Chapter XIII

MAJOR ISSUES

Some of the questions naturally raised by the data of the study have been suggested at the end of the successive chapters of Part I. There was not time to discuss all of them in the findings conferences, nor were all suited for discussion on such occasions.

The answers of some of these questions, as previously recognized, were determined by the assumptions of the respective participants to such an extent as made discussion impertinent.[1] Others pertained to the local characteristics of the work and were somewhat apart from the collective point of view of the national representatives constituting the advisory group. A certain sense of priority and major importance also governed the choice of issues for discussion.

By common consent three issues were outstanding as national problems of organized work for boys and girls, involving large social policies as well as the basic responsibilities of central administrations; namely, those of occupancy, naturalization and adjustment. Subsidiary financial and administrative problems attached themselves to these major issues and were chiefly discussed in connection with them.

Silently accompanying the consideration of these three issues, never brought into the focus of acknowledged discussion, yet never out of the several minds concerned, was the issue presented by the qualitative standards of work as individually cherished by the agencies. With all discourse upon the occupancy of wider fields, upon the profounder naturalization of the work in communities, or upon more desirable adjustments between agencies, went the unvoiced query: Can we do these things and still maintain the inner quality of our results as we conceive they ought to be? One recognizes this fourth

[1] P. 172.

issue as simply the further functioning of the sense of sanctity and importance of each agency's mission and methods. It constitutes an inevitable issue, but one not susceptible of fruitful discussion in view of the divergent assumptions with which it is complicated.

The present chapter deals with the three confessed major issues, and comes to terms at the end with the fourth and unspoken one.

OCCUPANCY

The data of the study showed that relatively only a few boys and girls in a few places are reached by all the character-building agencies combined. Only a little of the territory of the nation is covered by definitely organized work, and that fragmentarily and with poor internal diffusion of actual units.[2]

In the conference, there was no dissent from the assumption of the study that, at best, organized group-work for boys and girls is not likely to reach the smallest village and open-country communities generally; and no complete solution of their problem was suggested apart from the radical reorganization of rural civilization.[3] On the other hand, it was agreed that there can be and should be very much wider occupancy of rural communities by the organized work of the agencies than at present, and that a larger proportion of the work should be definitely rural.

As set forth in the preliminary report, occupancy of rural areas was considered in connection with four territorial and social units; namely, suburbs, large districts for non-intensive supervision, the larger rural independent communities, and counties or comparable districts.

SEGREGATION OF SUBURBAN AREAS

The first proposition laid down by the report was that the broad sector of American civilization treated by the agencies

---

[2] Chapter I, p. 33 f., and Chapter III, p. 53 f.
[3] P. 58.

under the classification of town and country work is too varied to be cultivated under a single policy or by a uniform method. As shown in Part I, much of the work labeled "rural" is really suburban, and where the option is present, the agencies show a strong tendency to cultivate the suburban at the expense of rural communities in the same area.[4] It was specifically recommended, therefore, that suburban areas should be cut off from the so-called rural field. Suburbs are urban in spirit and should be in method and policy. Except for some of the newer industrial suburbs, they already have a rich social development through imitation of, and overstimulus by, the city. No independent solution of suburban problems is possible. They present an important, sound and unique field for the work of the agencies and one in which it is comparatively easy to succeed, since the suburbs enjoy the alertness, brains, leadership and money of the metropolitan communities to which they belong. But their problem is distinctly not rural.[5]

The extensiveness of the suburban phase of the so-called rural work greatly impressed the advisory group, and it was bluntly charged that the agencies are not really occupying their ostensible field. Against this charge, it is fair to repeat that some of them have never undertaken to do distinctively rural work, and that others have changed the names of their special departments from "rural" to "town and country" in recognition of the facts discovered.

The report did not directly develop the problem of suburban occupancy, since it was regarded as essentially an urban problem, and since cities are already facing it in their own way. Not all the necessary administrative issues have as yet been clearly worked out, but the major factors are unmistakable and the direction of development from the center out is clear. The

4 P. 52 f.

5 The elimination of the suburbs, as presenting a distinct problem, greatly reduces both the total amount of the work previously classified as rural and its average success. These considerations undoubtedly explain the hesitancy of the executives of rural work in some of the agencies to acknowledge the distinctiveness of the suburban work. If they should do so, would not some one begin to suggest the administrative transfer of this phase to some other department than theirs, or the creation of a special department of suburban work related to cities? Of course this is not a necessary consequence, provided appropriate methods are used in the different aspects of the work and their distinctive qualities recognized.

purpose of cities to exercise social control over their constructive agencies, as, for example, through the Community Chest movement, is increasingly expanded to include the suburbs. In the judgment of the report, then, the only fair method of clearing the ground for a consideration of the rural work proper is to set the suburban phase apart for special treatment, if not for separate administration.

LONG-RANGE PROMOTION

As set forth in the report, the data strongly hint that the occupancy of rural territory should be, and will probably have to be, through long-range promotion to an extent far greater than the agencies are yet willing to acknowledge.[6] Somehow they must get into more of the characteristically rural places or else surrender the name and profession of rural service. Their most extensive and rewarding service for such communities up to date has been through the broadcasting of the idea of organized work for boys and girls and the development of sporadic units through local initiative and without intensive supervision by the national agencies. Forty-six per cent. of all occupancies found in the fifty-three counties were of this sort.

PRESENT METHODS OF LONG-RANGE PROMOTION

The present methods of promotion through national and intermediate agencies that make this result possible were not directly investigated by the study. Some of the agencies are organized by states, others by districts. These intermediate agencies perform helpful services, but the area covered is too large to admit of the intensive supervision of local units. Examples are the district plan of the Young Men's Christian Association as developed in Kentucky; the organization of the entire state of Vermont into four related districts by the Young Women's Christian Association; and certain Boy Scout coun-

[6] P. 39 f. and 47 f.

cils covering territory admittedly too large for close supervision.

Attached to these intermediate organizations are sometimes special agents like the Hi Y and Girl Reserve secretaries of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations respectively. In all these cases the size of the area served limits the functioning of the agencies to long-range stimulus and help, in contrast with active supervision.

As revealed in discussion, the prevailing attitude of the agencies toward the whole body of work conducted on this basis, is that it is inferior in value and should be, if possible, merely temporary in character. In other words, the agencies condescend to the use of the method of long-range promotion as an entering wedge, or in order to render a less satisfactory grade of service to communities which they cannot reach intensively. But all are greedy for close territorial occupancy; with the result that little of the rural area of America has been reached at all and that little not conspicuously well.

SUPPOSED LONG-RANGE PROMOTION

As proposed by the report, the agencies should now shift their policies so as to accept, as normal and as relatively permanent for large areas and multitudes of boys and girls, the method of service by long-range promotion. Out of this method they should resolve to wring the very best results possible. It has never yet had a fair chance at their hands. Not until it is recognized as the only way to reach a large fraction of the natural constituency of the agencies will its best possibilities be realized.

It was not proposed to restrict at all the intensive development of organizable communities within areas set apart for long-range development, so long as their organization does not reduce, delay nor defeat the permeation of the territory as a whole by the best means at the command of long-range work.

As a condition of the success of the method, it was urged that the territory chosen for such promotion should express some principle of social unity. It should be the trade area of

a small city, a sector of the dependent territory of a large city, a topographical province, or at least a political district with some traditional identity.

PRIMARY METHOD OF APPROACH

The primary method of approach to people and communities within this area would be literary. Correspondence and the printed page is the only direct vehicle at present between the national agencies and the many sporadic units throughout the nation. Individuals previously connected with the agencies in other places are scattered in new homes throughout the nation. Publicity might search them out and make them the nuclei of group organization as they largely are already.[7]

It was also pointed out in discussion that various boys' and girls' periodicals, with no machinery of promotion beyond the printed page, have often gathered tens of thousands of enrolled members into shadowy organizations reflecting this and that interest. Commercial agencies promoting boys' and girls' agricultural club work marshal literally hundreds of thousands of alleged adherents primarily through long-range approach. A Lone Scout organization of considerable membership, to which a boy may belong "all by himself," has very recently merged with the Boy Scouts of America and been put under a special committee of leaders especially identified with farmers' movements. The Girl Scouts also recognize individual memberships of girls in scattered communities.

These effective methods could be still further reënforced by the occasional contacts of field agents and specialists. The distinction between their relations and those of the supervisors would be that they are too far away and come too infrequently either to "boss" the work or to permit local responsibility to be shunted upon their shoulders.

THE PROBLEM OF FINANCE

Discussion was quick to fix upon the problem of financing such long-range work. It was frankly admitted by the agencies

[7] P. 93 f.

that a strong motive for favoring intensive local organization is that it is self-supporting and pays an additional margin to the support of national machinery. In reply, the report pointed out that local support at present is not general nor well diffused, but depends chiefly upon a limited number of individuals, many of whom would be equally susceptible to cultivation under any method. It was also urged that the choice of a natural district would carry with it a ground of appeal to the financial forces that live and prosper within the district. It is always found possible, for example, to make an effective appeal for the support of constructive forces within the trade area of a city. Sentimental and altruistic responsibility is felt by the wealth concentrated at the center, even where there is no confidence that there will be any direct returns. Furthermore, financial givers in smaller communities like to back that which has city prestige and leadership and which seems to link them in a common enterprise with people of importance.

All these possibilities, it was argued, are available for the further development of long-range promotional work. Much actual interest in the suggestion was evinced by several of the agencies. The report strongly urged that they perfect and standardize this means of extension of occupancy, and attempt a much wider rural ministry in this way. The saturation point for this method, it was felt, is not nearly reached.

The second findings conference voted to "call the attention of the respective agencies" to the possibilities of this method.

OCCUPANCY THROUGH INTENSIVE ORGANIZATION

The report urged an increase of intensive organization as well as long-range promotion. But in so doing it focused primary attention not upon counties and comparable districts, but upon larger independent rural communities.

The basis of this action was the fact that, in the fifty-three counties studied, eight out of every ten towns of from 2,500 to 10,000 population were already occupied by one or more of the agencies. This seems to point to communities of this size as a naturally predestined field of service. There are about

2,050 of such communities in the United States with a population of about 9,600,000 within their corporate limits, and probably half as many more in immediately dependent rural territory. This identifies a total population of nearly fifteen million people whose boys and girls thus constitute a special field for cultivation.

RELATION OF INTENSIVE TO LONG-RANGE OCCUPANCY

Part I of the report inferentially reproved the agencies for neglect of the smaller incorporated and rural communities in favor of this very group. To recommend now that intensive cultivation start with it seems inconsistent, and will prove so if the method of long-range promotion first recommended is not genuinely and widely adopted. Otherwise it will result only in a further desertion of the most needy boys and girls. There is, however, a large rural population surrounding and dependent upon these communities. If, as is contemplated, it is actually, in every case, included with the town center in organization and cultivation, a far larger proportion of open-country boys and girls will be reached than at present.

LARGER INDEPENDENT COMMUNITIES

Other arguments in favor of beginning intensive organization with larger rural communities were offered, as follows:

These are the most urgent and problematical communities in their special problems. Competition is most frequent here. On the other hand, the resources of such communities make them the most fruitful ground for experiment.

Again, much of the present so-called territorial work is not really more than work in an enlarged community. In county after county, the actual permanent nucleus of organization and life was found virtually confined to the major town or county seat and outlying neighborhoods within its trade area.

In a considerable number of cases, too, a genuinely county-wide organization has developed virtually independent sub-districts, each essentially corresponding to the larger com-

munity of a good sized town, each having its own budget, and, theoretically at least, its own executive. In other words, in many supervised units now organized ostensibly on the county basis, the major portion of the present work has been resolved into separate community elements, and would be fully included under the proposed method.[8]

Organization by larger rural communities would thus be the more honest and, it is believed, the more helpful typical form of intensive organization. It could help outlying districts the more genuinely if freed from the fiction of wider territorial responsibility. It could focus upon a more adequate program for the local community, frequently centralizing in a permanent plant, becoming a community house and center. It would afford the agencies greater possibilities of flexibility for local uses if they were to become identified with a social unit that has the intense individuality and cohesiveness of a community, in contrast with the miscellaneous and ill-assorted territory gathered up by political accident within county boundaries.

Experience, as stated above, proves that organization virtually by larger rural communities frequently exists under the guise of broader territorial organization, and that it is sometimes successful. There are also numerous examples of small communities already organized by the agencies apart from territorial units. There are, to be sure, numerous cases in which organizations in places of this size have failed; but no data exist to prove whether or not the ratio of failure is greater than in "county work."

THE ISSUE OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

One of the main difficulties anticipated in the organization of such small units was that of financial support. Numerous communities, however, are paying quotas to the support of several agencies which frequently mount up to more than the

---

[8] Orange County for the Young Men's Christian Association, Santa Clara County for the Boy Scouts and Tulare County for the Young Women's Christian Association (all in California) are cases in point.

cost of a full-time executive. The report, therefore, questioned whether the problem is primarily one of support. As it analyzed the situation, one strong reason for the tendency of the agencies to resort to county organization is that the county lacks social unity. It is an area from which an aggressive agency can draw sufficient resources for support without having to come to intimate adjustments with local situations. The financial appeal comes near enough home to secure response; but not near enough home to raise the demand for full local control of the work, as it would if identified with a single community.[9]

As an outcome of discussion on this issue—in addition to a fuller appreciation of values of the present organization of independent communities already organized—some of the agencies indicated a purpose to make fresh studies and experiments in the feasibility of such communities as a frequent primary unit of organization.

INTENSIVE SUPERVISION

Though not recommended as the major method, a large place was left by the report for organized counties and comparable districts for intensive supervision.

WHEN THE COUNTY UNIT IS JUSTIFIED

In genuinely rural territory, where the county unit is already actually successful (in the sense that it is both firmly established and has actually developed a widely diffused service throughout the territory purporting to be covered), there was no disposition to doubt its value. There is far too little work all told to warrant any destructive attitude toward any part of it that is actually functioning well.

For the future also, whenever a territory cannot be covered

[9] The author of the report confesses that one of his personal reasons for recommending the agencies to cultivate the larger independent communities is that he is sure that these communities will compel them to unbend, as the price of support. The agencies would have to adopt a more flexible attitude and be more willing to coöperate if they were dealing with self-conscious social entities rather than with counties—but this is another story.

by the development of independent communities with their trade areas (at least to a degree equal to the average attained under the ostensibly territorial method), and where something more than long-range promotion is possible, the report recommended the county or comparable unit of administration, provided it constitutes a genuine social unit.

These conditions are met by a variety of circumstances. Sometimes the trade area of a small rural city is virtually coextensive with the county; but it is more strategic to name the organization for the county than for the city alone.

As applied to the counties covered by the report, only twenty-nine of the fifty-three are rural. Of these, fourteen are unified to a considerable extent by the possession of a central community larger and more commanding than any other. In these counties the central community might either be organized independently and allowed to make its legitimate outreach into the immediately dependent rural area (in which case it would include the most of the organizable population of the county), or the work might be organized on the county basis with consequences not very different.

WHEN THE COUNTY UNIT IS INADMISSIBLE

The remaining fifteen rural counties, on the contrary, clearly lack internal unity. Their communities find their major practical relation in different directions and frequently beyond the borders of the county. Not infrequently their towns are bitterly competitive. The attempt to make them into units of administration and support is clearly against the grain of social habit and behavior.

All told, the position of the report is that the county unit is a significant residual basis of organization, but not the primary or major one. Many of the failures of the past are believed to have been due to its unwise adoption under a traditional and narrow policy.

SUMMARY

Summarizing the total problem of organized occupancy as presented and discussed, rather definite trends were revealed on the part of the agencies toward greater variety of administrative units than in the past, or rather to the recognition that more kinds of valid rural work have grown up than had been realized, and than were recognized by the departmental labels and records of the agencies.[10] There was also a sharpening of judgment as to when to use one kind and when another.

By the combined weight of the several methods of penetrating rural civilization, as described and discussed, the total occupancy of the field ought to be greatly increased, with proper regard for the quality of the work propagated. And while neither the study of the field nor contacts with headquarters agencies seemed to predict any immediate landslide, the report gathered increasing confidence that time and patience will secure this result.

NATURALIZATION

The factual chapters of the report, particularly Chapters II, IV and V (together with Chapter XI which deals rather with opinion), have presented what was called the problem of the naturalization in the rural community of organized work for boys and girls. As outlined in the Preface[11] and as presented directly to the agencies, it was hoped to help them to see the seriousness of their problem as relatively alien forces with other major tasks, approaching rural civilization from without. The crux of the problem as formulated is how to get on the inside, so as to become an accepted and permanent part of the situation.

At this point the agencies most definitely revealed the assumptions explored in the previous chapter. They are acutely conscious that they are bringing an important contribution to rural life, both of vision and of technique. These gifts they

[10] Table VI, p. 41.
[11] P. viii.

are under the necessity of promoting by some version of deliberate organization, since, in the main, the work has not enjoyed the contagious spread of a spontaneous and self-propagating movement.[12]

The facts as presented raised the essential issue of how such national agencies can enter into partnership with actual rural communities and their indigenous agencies on terms of actual mutual contribution to a common end, so that the communities become actually participants in the service of youth and no longer mere exponents and agents of values imported from without.

The particular adjustments between agencies recognized as involved in this process constitute the theme of the following section. The present paragraphs confine themselves to the most general meaning and aspects of naturalization as presented in the report and discussed.

DEFINITION

Generalizing the various meanings emphasized by the field studies and recognized in the discussion, the conception of naturalization as offered in the Preface was elaborated and enriched. The following paragraphs attempt to state the common ground that was reached.[13]

Naturalization involves, first, that communities become habituated in the use and support of work for boys and girls as promoted by the national agencies, until it is taken for granted as a permanent element in their lives.

Concretely, this means that the names of the agencies are to be recognized, the people backing them identified with the respective movements, and their activities popularly noted. Ordinarily there will be organized groups of boys and girls

12 To some extent the spread of the Boy Scouts should be recognized as such a spontaneous movement.

13 The following statement recognizes only that part of the discussion which assumed that the agencies have a nation-wide rural responsibility, and that occupancy ought to be greatly extended. Discussion of naturalization by those opposed to further occupancy was, of course, gratuitous. In other words, discussion which postulated that "the work naturally belongs to the church," etc., and that the agencies are interlopers, was properly ignored from this point on.

under the responsibility of local leadership, and usually more than one group.

Where territory larger than the single community is involved, as in typical county or comparable district organization, the work will similarly be taken for granted, though often to a less pronounced degree. But the real essence of naturalization has to do with individual communities. In any given area, it therefore rests back upon satisfactory occupancy of places. If territorial organization is attempted, there must be a reasonable degree of diffusion throughout contiguous communities—otherwise the work is not genuinely naturalized.

In becoming habituated to the work, it is implied that the communities are genuinely aroused to the more adequate point of view of the national organizations and that to some extent they actually assimilate its vision and standards. The national relationships of the work will be recognized as valuable, cordially accepted and followed. Financial support will come to be somewhat widely distributed.

A reasonable realization of this series of conditions would seem to describe what could fairly be called naturalization in fact.

INCOMPLETE NATURALIZATION EXPLAINED

The data presented in the report seemed to show that even so modest an ideal was very incompletely realized in the sample territory investigated. On this conclusion, no serious challenge was voiced. The report, however, brought to the discussion of the problem a series of mitigating considerations which may be summarized as follows:

(1) Naturalization has frequently been attempted with poor units of organization.[14] Under these conditions it could not expect to be very successful.

(2) It has frequently been concerned with oversmall and socially impoverished communities.

(3) Lapse of organization, which has been terribly frequent, has not always meant lapse of the underlying idea. Sometimes

[14] P. 111 f.

communities have shown great persistence in repeatedly re-establishing work when it has died down for lack of material or leadership. The report particularly insisted that the fact of lapse does not itself preclude true naturalization.

(4) The brief time during which most of the work has existed, together with (5) admittedly abnormal conditions following the World War, are additional considerations which should modify the judgment as to the success of the naturalization process.

The discussion in the main recognized the justice of these mitigations and hinged upon more refined attitudes going beyond the definition as above proposed.

FURTHER ASPECTS OF NATURALIZATION

It was implied, for example, that naturalization alone gives no assurance of valuable results. A good deal of the work of the world goes on because it has a traditional place in some organization or community. There is a committee that is expected to report something done at the end of the year. It is an established interest and preëmpts space on the docket and in the budget. Much of the "naturalization" involved in the housing, leadership and sponsorship of work for boys and girls has unquestionably sunk to this level of habit. It has the permanence of inertia rather than of vigorous conviction.

In protest against this kind of naturalization, was the feeling of the agencies, on the one hand, that they have an evangel in behalf of youth which it is laid upon them to inculcate. The somewhat visionless and stupid communities of rural America must be saved even in spite of themselves. A study of the functioning of national agencies in cities has recently pointed out that they can no longer maintain such attitudes with respect to the self-conscious and more or less competent urban communities of America.[15] But the view was at least implied that the towns and open-country communities are incapable of what, from the urban standpoint, might be called a normal

[15] Lee, Pettit and Hoey, *Interrelation of the Work of National Social Agencies in Fourteen American Communities*, p. 29 f.

reaction or response. In other words, this view stressed strongly that the controlling element in the partnership was that of the national agencies.[16]

A somewhat different view already recognized[17] believed itself to be a corrective of this tendency to minimize the rights and participation of the local community. It held strenuously that genuine naturalization should be realized; but felt that this requires the development of a special constituency and local membership of its own sort within communities. This advocacy of more adequate measures for getting on the inside of the community situation is obviously praiseworthy. But the report felt unable to commend the particular method. It affords a good solution of the problem of naturalization; but seems to render impossible the adjustments still to be considered, since for all the agencies to adopt it would result in further subdivision of the small community into separate membership groups. The evidence of field studies fails to show that the development of local memberships actually produces any values not secured by the ordinary methods of sponsorship already described. So far as the discussion went, the aspiration for a profounder naturalization in communities was welcomed; but the majority of participants were not convinced by the only highly specific suggestion of a method for reaching this end.

UNSOLVED ISSUES

Other aspects of the problem incidentally raised by the discussion, but not fairly met, included the following:

(1) In the case of the character-building work for boys and girls, has not naturalization in the local community been made abnormally difficult by the fact that all the agencies conduct the work virtually on a non-equipment basis? They are in sharp contrast with most of the institutions of the community, which find an important condition of permanence in the possession of property and the sentiments and responsibilities attached thereto. Even with so fundamental an institution as

[16] P. 171.
[17] P. 83.

the family, the stabilizing significance of common possessions is generally recognized. This consideration reënforces the opinion voiced by a small minority that special buildings and equipment would add greatly to the permanence as well as to the effectiveness of the local work.[18]

(2) The paradox that the idea of organized work for boys and girls may be well naturalized in a community which at the same time will not accept such work under intensive supervision, was not fully resolved. It is obvious, however, that the two situations differ essentially. A well-established and persistent set of boys' and girls' groups held under local initiative and sponsorship may not be increased, but may even decrease, when a paid supervisor is imposed upon the situation. Exceptional cases were found in which those longest identified with a given agency were waiting for its territorial organization to fail in order that they might keep on with the work in the form which they thought more desirable.[19]

(3) In the discussion of financial support relative to naturalization, it remained a moot question whether getting the work more deeply rooted within, and more sympathetically under the control of local communities, would unlock resources. This question is evidently related to the foregoing one. Agreement was not reached as to whether greater naturalization would mean greater support. Sometimes it would mean less sense of need for support. Sometimes it evidently would register a conviction on the part of a community that it can operate its own work more economically than the requirements of the national agencies for intensive supervision. Provided, however, a community is convinced that it wants a county executive, it seems obvious that the more fully its agencies are identified with its life the more support will be available.

(4) Again, it remained an open question whether the most complete naturalization of a single agency operating for but

---

[18] This was one of the fundamental changes of policy recommended by the Report of the Commission on Town and Country Work to the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association ("Wilson Report"), 1925. This report says that in the past the Young Men's Christian Association has idealized a non-equipment type of work—"a state of mind which the Commission finds unconvincing at the present time."

[19] E.g., a church discontinued scouting "till the County Council dies."

one age- and sex-group in a community should be counted satisfactory. What is it that the American public seeks to accomplish through the national agencies? Is it not the better version of work for boys and girls? If so, is this ideal realized by the success of a single agency working for boys or for girls alone?

SUMMARY

The outcome of the discussion may fairly be said to have identified the problem of naturalization as presenting a genuine, essential and serious issue. Its outstanding characteristics are the frequent tendency of the agencies to be so inflexible as to aggravate the sense of their alien origin; and, on the other hand, the tendency of communities to be so self-complacent and intractable as to make partnership difficult. The essential difficulties of the issue are great enough without further complication by competition among agencies within a given community. This raises still another major issue, which constitutes the theme of the next section.

ADJUSTMENT

Although the problem of adjustment among national agencies consequent upon their simultaneous occupancy and attempt to become naturalized in communities was not frankly confronted and discussed, it was ever present as an underlying concern. Representatives of the agencies revealed considerable sensitiveness as to the degree of duplication revealed by the study and the attitudes and felt relationships growing out of it.

Occasionally a defensive retort was made to the effect that, since so small a proportion of the total number of boys and girls of any organized territory are reached by all the organizations combined, there is always room for one agency more. The report was unable to see how such a position could be held sincerely by any one who had actual knowledge, from field contacts, of the perplexities, burdens and animosities fre-

quently resulting from duplicate occupancy of communities. Even when the competitive flame is smoldering, it is always there ready to burst forth at slight provocation. The increased difficulties of the supervisor or executive, and his distraction from the main business of serving boys and girls, are most serious. Communities are unhappy and restive. The duplicate presence of agencies frequently serves still further to divide interests that are already shot through with sectarianism and clannishness. The thing objected to most of all is the attempt of some of the agencies to create their own membership constituency, thus driving the varied auspices under which boys' and girls' work is undertaken back into the basic structure of the local community.

As was indicated in Part I,[20] the study found a good deal of this sort of thing. The agencies are more aware of it than they are willing to admit. They smart under a sense of public reprobation on its account. They naturally object to extreme statements which would make the situation worse than it actually is. They admit that relations can be improved; but they wish to make much of the present incidental coöperation (which the study gladly set forth), and tend to imply that not much more is either possible or necessary. Sometimes the excuse is offered that the agencies did not create the divisions in rural communities and that the situation was already as bad as possible.

All told, the study found a more favorable attitude toward radical adjustments among agencies in the interests of community peace and unification on the field than in the discussions of the advisory group. It cannot record, however, that the mood of concession and adjustment was characteristically present in either place. While asserting that the agencies are under moral obligation not to make matters worse, but rather to serve as unifying forces in rural communities, the report by no means held that the problem could be solved by the mere surrender either of field or of characteristics by any or all of the agencies. Their feeling that they are called to do work for rural youth, and that each has an essential contribution to

[20] P. 132.

make, is one of the accepted assumptions. In operating under this assumption, however, the agencies ought to accept the condition that they shall both serve rural youth, each in its way, and also create a better spirit in communities so that the total life of their inhabitants shall be happier and better. The final reason why the solution must be one of adjustment and the fair interplay of opportunity and influence, rather than of the more competitive victory of one agency over another, is that the agencies actually grow out of different sorts and levels of idealism in American life. As analyzed in the Preface, all the movements studied are serious ways of regarding life in behalf of youth. The attitudes and atmospheres which they reflect are all worth conserving and even worth contending for, if necessary, to perpetuate and expand them. They honestly reflect different planes and levels of current altruism. No impartial mind will wish to deny expression to any one of them nor doubt that their variety enriches rural culture, illustrates the manifoldness of truth, and expresses the variety and pervasiveness of God's concern for boys and girls.

It is almost equally important that a variety of idealistic agencies is necessary to furnish the medium for the goodwill of men and women of different strata and types within the nation. All sorts and conditions of men and women deserve a chance to work for the boys and girls of America. Some require one particular instrument and some another.

Since, then, each of the agencies incarnates a valid and vital movement, both in what it brings to boys and girls and because it expresses different aspects of the nation's idealism, how can active competition for the control of youth be escaped when several agencies converge in a limited field like a rural community?

It is just at this point that the unformulated issue of quality became an emphatic determinate of attitude on the part of the agencies. Each one of them is attempting to embody its values in certain standards and concrete practices. The further extension of greatly inferior work, the naturalization of a poor version of service, or the sort of adjustment which cuts away all distinctive character from the agencies, would please nobody.

To proposals involving these things, the position of the agencies implies the retort: "Can you guarantee that work of a satisfactory sort can be done under the conditions which you suggest?"

While the report was not persuaded that a further evolution and enrichment of the common standards and tendencies of the agencies is impossible, its mood was to wish to see all existing values conserved. To the impatient verdict that the agencies have become just like so many more competing denominations, it mentally added that, like denominations, they have great visions, worthy histories and important values to conserve, besides being going concerns with large numbers of active and convinced supporters. The study therefore undertakes in the following paragraphs to give a more adequate recognition to the possible solutions which seem to emerge from the discussion of its proposals.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Segregating the suburban work, and assuming that the methods of adjustment now actively under way in cities will rapidly be forced upon it, communities and counties or comparable districts remain as the fields in which adjustments were discussed.[21] The solutions discussed by the report in terms of these units divided into the more and the less radical ones.

APPROVAL OF INCIDENTAL ADJUSTMENTS

It was very strongly urged that the not infrequent tendency to neighborly helpfulness growing into the beginning of united counsels, as already exhibited, should be further developed;[22] but that more experience in informal coöperation should be allowed to precede any demand for formal adjustments.

A certain range of technical coöperation, such as in joint

[21] A single still more radical suggestion as to field was recorded; namely, that the agencies ought to get together and solve the problem of adjustment for entire states as the denominations have sometimes done under comity commissions in the far West. This suggestion remains as a counsel of perfection which got no support as a live proposition.

[22] P. 133.

training courses, was felt to be a safe proposal for frequent adoption.

RADICAL LOCAL SOLUTIONS DISAPPROVED

On the contrary, the agencies by common consent repudiated as too radical the series of occasional solutions found in the field work, such as the division of territory within a district, division of field by age-groups, and the employment of joint executives.[23] In brief, there was no common consent to anything in the nature of coöperative adjustment which goes in principle beyond current facts and tendencies as revealed by the data.

SUGGESTED ASPECTS OF ADJUSTMENT

The report sought to carry its further suggestions along the lines of natural affinities and sentiment rather than to introduce flatfooted proposals for organizational adjustment. Its two major emphases were therefore upon certain natural backgrounds against which the further development of the work was considered.

RE-RELATING THE "CHRISTIAN" AGENCIES TO THE CHURCH

The first of these was the historic relation between the church and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. The report recommended a strong attempt to re-relate these agencies to the Protestant church within which they originated. These acknowledged origins conspire, with their many current contacts and interactions, to make adjustment between them and church life in local communities a special problem.

The problem was found to be especially acute in the rural field, on account of the critical attitude discovered on the part of the church toward these particular agencies in contrast with others; for, paradoxically, they were less often approved by

[23] P. 134.

local representatives of the churches than were the agencies not bearing the label "Christian" nor historically originating in the church.[24] Thus the church is relatively a more frequent sponsoring organization for the other agencies studied than it is for the two Christian Associations.[25] The most frequent current objection to the Christian agencies was that the church can do anything which they are doing for youth, and can do it more conveniently, with less friction, less expense and greater continuity.

The report found a new urgency just creeping into the problem of adjustment by reason of an enlarged interpretation and development of organized religious education in the United States. Reënforcing the general sentiment that the church is adequate to care for its boys and girls, this new movement comes with a practical program largely duplicating, and logically rendering superfluous, the work of the Christian Associations as it has usually been developed in small communities.[26]

The most authoritative formula of the new religious education movement involves organized group-work for boys and girls, an all-around program reflecting the normal interests of youth, and directed week-day activity parallel with the conventional ministries of church, Sunday school, and young people's religious organizations. On paper this scheme, as developed in some of the more progressive states, is so complete as to seem to rule out all necessity for the agencies.[27]

These plans and aspirations run so far beyond the actual accomplishments of religious education in the strictly rural field that they must almost of necessity remain largely on paper, unless popularized in some form which might happen

---

24 Pp. 129 and 130.

25 Table L, p. 92.

26 See "Through the Week Activities," *The International Sunday School Council of Religious Education—International Leaflet* 204. This leaflet postulates that "the great majority of Sunday-school teachers have no desire to try any auxiliary organization in combination with their classes. They are somewhat dubious of the machinery, ritual, etc., which are concomitants of these schemes" (p. 3). Among the not-wanted organizations are named the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls, but Boy Scout and Red Cross literature is recommended as an aid to the making of a week-day program.

27 See, for example, *The Program of Education for* 1924 *and* 1925, *New Jersey Council of Religious Education*, "The Young People's Division."

to ride into wide acceptance on a wave of imitation, or unless promoted by paid agents under intensive local or territorial organization.

In its old expression through the County Sunday School Association, it was characteristically a nominal and intermittent organization with few trained leaders and scarcely any paid ones. The local organizations (township or district) were and are still more nebulous, and indeed chiefly function through reports.[28]

As to the present, many of the state Sunday school organizations are not yet allied with the new international merger for religious education. The new order has not developed very completely as yet.

The study, consequently, did not actually find much to show for its ideals in the rural field. In but four of the fifty-three counties studied (three of which were essentially suburban, and the fourth highly exceptional), was there anything like an effective system of organized group-work for rural youth under the banner of religious education, such as could be thought of as comparable with, or as an equivalent for, the usual work of the national agencies in similar counties.

It is not, therefore, as an actually competing movement in its present development, but as a "cloud no bigger than a man's hand," that the advent of the new religious education movement in the rural field is to be regarded. In discussion, opinion differed as to whether it is a genuinely urgent portent and one that has any real prospect of expanding till it fills the heavens. In a very considerable number of counties the local representatives of the agencies were found to be very greatly exercised over the prospect, and attempting in various ways to prevent or forestall the intensive organization of religious education work under a paid executive.

The report confessed the opinion that the establishment of this ideal of religious education in American thinking is epoch-making. It has had force enough to drive through a radical reorganization of the national agencies of religious education.

[28] For an elaborate factual study of these organizations in a representative state, see Athearn, *The Religious Education of Protestants in an American Commonwealth* (Indiana Survey), pp. 482-500.

It has now become legitimatized in denominational procedure over a great part of the nation. In spite, therefore, of its relatively slight start up to date, it is probable that work, under the guise of religious education, parallel to the present work of the national agencies, will very rapidly appear as their competitor. The problem has already emerged, notably in the suburbs; and the movement is likely to follow the exact order of the agencies in their policies of expansion and occupancy. That is to say, it will appear first in the very types of communities in which the latter are now chiefly located.

It seemed to the report, therefore, that a very large problem of enforced adjustment between the agencies and the church is already in sight, both on account of the critical trend of general local church sentiment and by reason of the new development of the religious education idea and method. This problem looms largest and with greatest immediacy for the Christian agencies.

Venturing still further upon prophecy, the report anticipated a rapid development in larger rural communities of the demand for adequate moral and religious week-day education on a voluntary basis, supplemental to the work of the public school. This outcome is already foreshadowed by the rapid rise of the daily vacation Bible school in the smaller communities. The movement seems bound to spread. Unquestionably it will get general legal status ultimately, and will provide the instructional side of a more adequate character-building process in the nation. An equal development of this process on its expressional side will then be demanded. Is it to be furnished by an adjustment of the existing agencies to the new movement, or by a set of unrelated and rival activities labeled "religious education"? In order to meet this situation, the report urged the most careful study of the historical and sentimental grounds of possible adjustments in this realm.

As between the two Christian Associations, the Young Men's Christian Association was found exhibiting a strong desire to seek renewed understanding with the church, while the Young Women's Christian Association appeared embarrassed and uncertain, particularly on account of its official insistence upon

the development of a special local membership constituency in all organized territory.[29]

ASSIMILATION OF RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR IDEALISM

Parallel to the adjustment of the Christian agencies and the church, the report urged the importance of the assimilation of religious and secular idealism.

This necessity lies back of any specific proposals for relating the entire body of character-building agencies to one another and to local communities. The crux of the issue is the different versions of idealism which they represent.

The report presented its position essentially as follows: In contrast with the agencies historically originating as lay movements in the church, the others included in this study may, without invidiousness, be called expressions of secular idealism. Their somewhat different complexion of thought and motive actually works out into differences of traditional usage as factually shown by the variations discovered within the common program of youth activity.[30] These differences, whether of kind or of degree, are perhaps overstated by the agencies. They have, however, real significance for local communities. Thus, in the average American rural environment, a more than shadowy distinction between the church and the "world" is maintained. Small-town thinking keeps this distinction in working order after city thinking has largely abandoned it. The moral earnestness of rural people is expressed in the maintenance of practical differences between religious people and others, evidenced chiefly by certain conventional requirements and the use or failure to use the recognized language of Zion. So generally true is this, that the interpretation of the one stream of idealism to the other becomes an urgent necessity.

The data of the study showed that, in spite of their differences,[31] both streams of devotion to the interests of boys and

[29] The Young Women's Christian Association's representatives also indicated the danger of becoming entangled in denominationalism.
[30] P. 149.
[31] P. 85 f.

girls have looked to the church for leadership, sponsorship and a place of meeting. Curiously, as has been seen, the agencies whose antecedents are non-ecclesiastical have actually attached themselves to the church more frequently than have the two Christian associations. But the large use which all agencies make of the church tends to force it into the focus of their competitive approaches to the community. The field work encountered numerous cases of conflict in which the current arguments were that one agency is more or less "Christian" or "religious" than another, or more conscientious about moral matters. No more urgent problem emerged than that of removing the "I am better than thou" attitude between agencies whose local relationships and procedures are so much alike, and the healing of the resulting community misunderstandings by a more comprehending sympathy between the significant planes of idealistic interest in boys and girls.[32]

In brief, the report held that adjustment must become more than a set of devices or a series of separate episodes, such as the merging of the methods and programs of two competing national agencies in particular places. It must relate to the subtly defined streams of constructive influence flowing into the rural community, to the total community situation and not merely to the agencies, and to the entire course of human life as organized in rural groups. It is no less an issue than this which the discussion inadequately revealed and dealt with.[33]

SUMMARY

All told, the discussion of major issues seemed to show that the participants were in a little closer agreement than they were on their underlying attitudes and presuppositions, yet no strong consensus of feeling or judgment was disclosed. Each agency

[32] It is not to be understood that the continuous reëxamination of ideas is not wholesome, or that comparison and even conflict is deprecated, provided the processes culminate within a reasonable period and do not drag out as a mood of controversy and end in a habit of opposition.

[33] In view of the bigness of the issue, the report was obliged to hold that the concern of the agencies for the quality of the work under their existing organizations and methods, is disproportionate. Do they not need rather to work out some common qualitative standards upon the assumption of unified, rather than of separate, work?

expects to pursue the policy of extension and occupancy in its own way, though with a certain greater open-mindedness, and with a trend toward more flexible methods. The seriousness of the problem of naturalization in community life is only being slowly learned through the long discipline of failure. The sanctity of the community as over against the best intentioned of alien forces is hardly yet recognized. On the part of some of the agencies there is a new glow of warmth and sense of relationship toward the local agencies cherishing common ideals and having a similar origin and atmosphere. But little purpose was shown to undertake radical adjustments, or to try to bring the streams of idealism themselves into a common channel.

Summarizing the whole case, the data and the discussion presented many challenges to the participants; but no coercive verdict commanding the assent of all was found either in the facts or in the experience of facing them together. The mere process of participation in such a study is deeply significant, and undoubtedly marked some progress toward a common understanding of the problem of rural boys and girls. But it will take a longer time, more basis in knowledge and more continuous contacts, to work out the ultimate issues. The only hope of larger agreement would seem to be more facts made more convincing because covering a longer period, acquired under the conditions of controlled coöperative experiment, and involving more persistent contacts between leaders and executives.

Chapter XIV

SUGGESTED EXPERIMENTS IN COÖPERATION

The most valid of all possible methods of solving any problem is that of conscious experimentation.

Experiment is simply controlled experience. Facts in the raw are too complicated for the understanding; and, so far as they are the consequence of previous action, they show the crude results of trial and error. Experiment simplifies the facts by limiting the field of their operation, assures homogeneous conditions within which to observe them, and works out a common understanding of the problem on which light is sought; it formulates the terms of its hoped-for solution, under agreed conditions covering a pre-determined period of time. The final service of the report was to urge the agencies to embark upon a significant series of experiments in cooperation.

SPECIAL MOTIVES FOR COÖPERATIVE EXPERIMENT

In addition to the validity of the experimental method, strong special motives had been revealed in the discussion, together with important practical sanctions, for urging such a step. There was, for example, the weight of the following confessed assumptions:

(1) A moral imperative rests upon the agencies to serve rural communities by unifying their group spirit and purposes as well as by organizing their boys and girls. Characteristically, such communities are socially divided. The past work of the national agencies has often divided them still further. Now, for the sake of the boys and girls, the different strands of religious and secular idealism need to be brought together. The problem may be just as truly present where there is only

one national agency in a community as where there are more.

(2) The mere organizational success of a single agency in a community is not to be regarded as success in the light of the common end. Thus, the most active troop or club of boys when girls are not organized, or of well-to-do boys when factory boys are not organized, or of town boys when open country boys are not organized; or the most successful boys' or girls' organization of one movement when another movement is languishing, is not to be counted as success from a community point of view.

(3) The alternative to greater coöperation is undoubtedly greater future failure. The present rate of failure is staggering; but communities may be increasingly expected to show the door to agencies that seek competitive support for overlapping partial programs. Many places studied at first hand were voicing a sharp demand for unified boys' and girls' work. The lesson of repeated lapses should be plain except to the willfully blind, and not until the agencies take these things to heart will their attitudes be morally helpful.

PRACTICAL JUSTIFICATION OF EXPERIMENTS PROPOSED

The report found further practical justification for the proposed coöperative experiments in the following evidence presented in detail in Part I:

(1) Many communities already have two or more agencies well established. There is no practical way to eliminate them. The most obvious thing to do is to coöperate. This is increasingly demanded by communities themselves.

(2) The net outcome of the methods of the several agencies shows great similarity. Tendencies to age differentiation and specialization have already developed, and these lay natural groundwork for further adjustment.

(3) A most important principle of social pedagogy applying to this realm is that communities need an interesting variety of opportunities. They ought to be allowed to build local flexible programs from material afforded by the several agencies. In the experience of local workers a single program is

not adequate. If it is tried, communities soon want to change and try another. If it is for boys alone, girls clamor for something like it or for some part in it.

(4) It was also urged that only a unified community work can relate itself to the more general movement of rural programs and well-being. Organized effort in behalf of country life is embarrassed by the multiplicity of agencies for youth with which it has to deal. The integration of the total set of rural agencies would be simplified by the local unification of agencies for youth.

(5) Rural communities frequently include radically divergent elements, racial or economic. Local feeling often makes it difficult to include all boys and girls under a single label. Witness, for example, the embarrassment of white and Negro Scouts in the same southern community. If, therefore, a unified local program could represent several alternative agencies, it could find an appropriate program for each distinct social group, within the common community plan and purpose.

REMEDIES SOUGHT FOR PRESENT DEFICIENCIES

Under these motives and sanctions the general objectives of the proposed experiments were clear from the previous analysis of data. Apart from the evils of competition and divisiveness just now under consideration, the four chief local failings of nationally promoted rural boys' and girls' work in the past have been: (1) its numerical fragmentariness and limitation; (2) its far too frequent inability to naturalize in local communities; (3) the brevity of its influence and its failure to accomplish the formal objectives assumed; (4) its discontinuity and inability to carry over from one organization or stage of development to another.

Of more general weaknesses, the following were pointed out as most damaging: The work as nationally organized has frequently not adopted the most effective supervisory units. It has allowed the agencies originating in the church to slip out of their natural alliances and to become distant and radically critical toward one another. It has failed to unite religious

and secular idealism in a common cause. The objects of the proposed experiments must naturally be to rectify these errors.

PROPOSED FIELDS OF EXPERIMENT

The proposed series of experiments necessarily included the recognized units of operation as developed in the section on occupancy; namely, the large district for long-range cultivation, the independent larger rural community, the county or comparable district of intensive supervision, and the suburban community in its natural social relationships with the city, unless this latter is eliminated from consideration as a rural problem.

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF PROPOSED EXPERIMENTS

The general conditions of the proposed experiments were, of course, those common to all scientific social study: (1) the chief points on which evidence is sought must be determined; (2) the location of the experiments and the territory to be covered by each must be settled; (3) the methods of procedure and relations between the coöperating agencies must be defined. All this must be so definite that a parallel experiment could be set up under independent auspices.

Again, it was postulated that the partially transformed and somewhat artificialized experimental situation which is thus created must not be too remote from existing realities. Too great and unduly arbitrary modifications of procedure must be avoided, in order to make it highly probable that what is true under laboratory conditions would also prove true in a working test.

It seemed imperative also that the set of experiments should have independent study and interpretation and sufficient independent supervision to assure that they be kept in line with the original agreements. Otherwise the public would scarcely be convinced of the fairness and freedom of the test.

It was finally assumed that, at the end of the experimental period, there must be a comprehensive report, adequate con-

sideration and discussion of the findings, a summarization of further agreements reached, followed by a still further cycle of experimentation.

With these preliminary considerations the report elaborated the following suggested plan of experiment in detail.

THE PLAN OF EXPERIMENT

EXPERIMENTS IN THE PERMEATION OF RURAL TERRITORY BY LONG-RANGE PROMOTION

It was proposed, first, that the agencies create two or three joint districts of considerable size, such as smaller states, parts of states or groups of counties, for the thorough promotion of the idea of organized character-building work for boys and girls by means of publicity.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE EXPERIMENT

Arguments, derived from the factual data and their discussion, for experiment in this particular field were: that much of the existing work in rural communities is the result of permeation rather than of territorial organization; that many of the basic ideas of the agencies are interchangeable; that some economy would be effected by the use of joint representatives; and, particularly, that a larger number of communities and of boys and girls should be reached by this method.

POSSIBLE DETAILS OF THE PLAN

No attempt was made to offer more than a sketch of the plan. It might well include a joint office, joint vehicles of stated publicity, such as a magazine, and the joint broadcasting of general information. The holding of conferences, training courses, etc., by the agencies for long-range work (as in contrast with intensive supervision) might be attached to the joint office, and a certain amount of coöperative visitation or a systematic routing of experts in the various fields, so as to be

jointly available to the local work of all the agencies, might be practiced.

Further possibilities suggested concerned the joint financing of such broadcasting service over large districts.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE

It was assumed that the central purpose of whatever conditions are attached to the experiment is to see how far and how permanently the work can permeate the smallest and most characteristic rural communities of the area in question.[1]

ACTION OF FEBRUARY, 1925, FINDINGS CONFERENCE

The second findings conference adopted a resolution recommending that the agencies attempt experiments in coöperative publicity and service in large districts along the lines suggested.

The discussion assumed that such experiments would probably include all types of agencies, but no precise determination of that point was registered. In the discussion the possibility of uniting district officers and of conducting training processes and service bureaus was mentioned, but no more exact limitations were prescribed for the experiment.

EXPERIMENTS IN INTENSIVE ORGANIZATION

The report recommended two parallel series of experiments in the larger independent rural communities (primarily towns of 2,500 population and over with their dependent rural areas), the first to be limited to agencies historically originating in the church, and the second to include all constructive character-building agencies for youth. No difference in essential relationships or methods of organization is involved as between the narrower and wider versions of the experiments. Consequently a single exposition covers both its versions.

[1] It was assumed that the largest rural communities in the area would be separately organized.

THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL

The specific proposal was for a unified local program through a community council of character-building organizations for youth. It was assumed that the national agencies would experimentally enter a group of rural towns or small cities for the purpose of their joint cultivation and supervision, always including the natural area comprising the larger community with the incorporated center. The promotional and supervisory aspect of the work would be carried on in common through the council, while the individual units would remain those of the several agencies.

Whether or not limited to national organizations originating in the church, the council would include the indigenous character-building agencies for youth, such as the local churches and schools, and any special local movements for youth which were found to have serious educational purpose. Members of this council would function as the local committees which the national agencies require to serve as sponsors for their work.

It was proposed, as essential to the experiment, that it be entered upon in good faith, no party to the joint work trying to get advantage of or supersede another; that the more intimate responsibility of the indigenous agencies should be recognized without the denial of national responsibility; that, on the other hand, the message and contribution of the national agencies should not have to limit themselves to local outlooks or sectarian alliances; and, finally, that the entire organized interests of boys and girls in the community should be included.

THE COMMUNITY SECRETARY

A second definite proposal was for employment by such a council of a community secretary for boys' and girls' work. Most organizable places of the population proposed can support at least one full-time executive for such serious interests of youth. His major stress would naturally be placed upon the work of the interests most actively coöperating in his support, but the community council should be free to use the means

offered by any agency, national or otherwise, to make its program effective. The primary function of the community secretary's work would be to train volunteers and get them to function as group leaders. He would have to maintain himself in the character of the professional leader, specialized in function like the school superintendent or the pastor of the church, and not trying himself to do all or any considerable part of the work. He could thus relate himself equally and whole-heartedly to units of all the national agencies which might be cooperating in the council.

RELATIONS OF ORGANIZED GROUPS TO LOCAL PARENT ORGANIZATIONS

It was proposed that the organized units of boys and girls should primarily belong to their parent or fostering organizations, as at present. The community council would promote the central idea, train the leaders and conduct many common activities, but it should not directly undertake to be a parent organization for groups of boys and girls. Such groups should remain in and be primarily subsidiaries of their churches, schools and other organizations as at present, except that the total work should be projected and planned for jointly, and supplementary common facilities should be provided for phases of the work which are naturally too large for independent units to handle.

Under the head of facilities, it was conceived that the community house, so frequently present in the imagination of small communities and in the theory of a number of rural sociologists, might be provided, with organized responsibility and a proper administrative agency, representing a broad range of interests, to operate it.

ADJUSTMENT OF THE COÖPERATING AGENCIES

In the theory of the proposal, all the coöperating national agencies should be represented by organized local units. So should also the Junior Extension work in agriculture and

domestic arts and other local character-building movements. Communities of the size contemplated have varied demands. A church may desire a Young Men's Christian Association group, while a lodge wants Scouts, or two churches may demand different agencies. The actual demand of the ultimate group served should determine which particular agencies should be used, and the community council should be equally cordial to all.

It was thought probable that the experimental working out of a unified plan of work for boys and girls would be found naturally to involve certain local divisions of responsibility among the agencies. In discussion their national representatives were found uniformly to repudiate such a suggestion. But if the experiment were allowed to have its own head, it would almost inevitably come to recognize the natural trends already developed and would adjust the work of the agencies as different phases of a unified system of educational activity. The actual trends would most likely result in something like the following general sequence and division of function:

BELOW HIGH-SCHOOL AGE

Sex	*Agency*
Boys	Boy Scouts
Girls	Girl Scouts or (and) Camp Fire Girls

HIGH-SCHOOL AGE AND OVER

(with different form of organization for school groups and non-school groups, industrial, foreign, etc.)

Boys	Y. M. C. A.
Girls	Y. W. C. A.

If the local program adopted this sequence it should be recognized as a logical and friendly adjustment, making place in the community life for all the agencies and systematizing the varied advantages which they offer. It would not be regarded as a general precedent. But, on the other hand, such a possibility could not fairly be refused to the communities if they saw fit to develop it under the experiment.

ARGUMENTS FOR THIS PHASE OF EXPERIMENT

The arguments in favor of a deliberate effort to cover the larger rural communities of the country were summarized as follows: (1) It meets the frequent demand for a unified local program. (2) It provides for really intensive development of work in the local community, whereas the present scattering of effort (resulting only in fragmentary occupancy and poor diffusion of local units) belies the idea. (3) It is based on a vital social unit, whereas the county is often an arbitrary one. (4) It would solve an exigent problem, since large numbers of such communities are already occupied by more than one agency, with resulting competition. (5) The cost is not prohibitive, since many such units already exist, and the support of so-called county work frequently comes chiefly from such central places. (6) The field work shows that a demand exists for the separate organization of such communities. (7) The type of work called for in such communities naturally links up with the more characteristic and familiar methods of the agencies in their general field. It furnishes a natural intermediate phase between the strictly rural and the strictly urban type of work. (8) Work in such communities, including their dependent rural areas, should reach many boys and girls who are not now organized.[2]

ACTION OF FEBRUARY, 1925, FINDINGS CONFERENCE

The second findings conference voted to recommend that the agencies attempt such coöperative experiments in communities of 2,500 population and over, but was inclined to the view that all character-building agencies, including those under Roman Catholic and Hebrew auspices, should generally be included.

[2] Following out the judgment earlier expressed that the suburban problem logically lies outside the present inquiry and belongs to the urban field, the study did not recommend experimental organization in suburban communities. In the discussion, however, it was clearly implied that the agencies desiring to hold the suburban field within their town and country departments would be inclined to make analogous experiments in this field also.

EXPERIMENTS IN COÖPERATIVE TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

EXPERIMENTS LIMITED TO AGENCIES ORIGINATING IN THE CHURCH

The first group of experiments recommended concerned exclusively the agencies originating in the church and the indigenous forces of the community able to coöperate under church auspices.

Specifically the agencies included in the proposed experiment are the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, together with the county or local district machinery of religious education (Sunday School Associations or Councils of Religious Education). It is the essence of the plan that the character-building agencies relate themselves first to these interdenominational organizations, and that they institute territorial supervision involving units in local churches only through and as part of this territorial alliance.[3]

CONDITIONS OF LEGITIMATE EXPERIMENT

As in the previous experiments, a national agreement of the agencies is assumed, permitting, for experimental purposes, the necessary changes and adjustments in their current policies, without implying any permanent change in the system. The national, state and larger supervisory machinery would continue to function as at present. The experiment concerns only territory intensively organized, for a limited period to be agreed upon. It is, of course, assumed that if satisfactory ways of coöperation are experimentally demonstrated the agencies will take further appropriate action.

PROBABLE DETAILS

The following were recommended as probable functional arrangements necessary to make the plan a genuine experiment

[3] This section, limiting the proposal to the religious agencies, is immediately followed by one showing that an analogous plan might be made to include all the constructive forces for youth, including the Junior Extension work in agriculture and home economics.

in coöperation, while preserving the organizational identity of the several agencies: (1) overlapping or interlocking boards of directors or territorial committees; (2) joint executives; (3) unified general territorial programs; and (4) unified programs for local communities.

OVERLAPPING DIRECTORATES

The first of the above specifications merely implies electing some of the same men and women to the governing bodies of the several agencies within the territorial administrative unit. Field investigation proves the great likelihood that the personnel of present county committees is somewhat overlapping and that the main financial support of altruistic movements largely comes from the same group. Everywhere the more public-spirited and idealistic leaders are sought for whatever concerns the betterment of youth, and they are very likely to respond to the appeal. The first proposed step is simply to recognize this as an inevitable condition and to set about to make it more definitely and more generally true as a ground for coöperation.

JOINT EXECUTIVES

A natural second step is to employ a joint executive or executives by concurrent action of the interrelated territorial boards. Care must naturally be exercised that such executives be interested and competent to direct all phases of the coöperative work. Successful examples of this plan already exist, as in Westchester County, N. Y., where the county Sunday School Association and the county Young Men's Christian Association have a single executive secretary with associates specializing in different phases of the work.

A UNIFIED PROGRAM

Third, the unified territorial program would be planned in common, but in actual execution divided between the coöperating agencies along functional lines. That is to say, each mem-

ber of the working alliance would continue to do in the main what it is now doing for the group for whom its work is primarily designed. Thus the tradition of religious education is strong on the instructional side of character-building, but weak on the side of spontaneous group activity and largely lacking in week-day programs. In the proposed coöperative organization the religious education agency would continue to do what it now does most characteristically and best, while the organizations which have developed group programs would continue to function more largely in that field, boys' agencies for boys and girls' agencies for girls.

LOCAL COUNCILS OF YOUTH

Fourth, the unified local program would be worked out essentially according to the plan proposed in the previous section for the separate organization of the local community. That is to say, there would be in each place of any size a community council for youth under the joint auspices of the territorial coöperative bodies, but including the local churches and schools as representative of the indigenous agencies. Each community would thus be approached in behalf of the total moral interests of youth.

ADVANTAGES FROM POINT OF VIEW OF OCCUPANCY

The advantages urged for such a plan were many. On the side of occupancy it attaches the youth movement represented by the agencies to those developments which have gone further into rural society than any other of the voluntary character-building movements. The Sunday school is the one such movement taken for granted by all rural people. It is virtually ubiquitous. If, therefore, the work of the special character-building agencies can ally itself with this all-permeating movement it will have a hopeful basis for a much larger penetration of the rural field.

Again, the Sunday school movement depends on non-professional leaders. With all their shortcomings and deficiencies

in preparation, here is a very extensive group of bona fide rural people already committed to responsibly organized work for boys and girls.

Still again, the rural religious education movement makes a much broader financial appeal to the nation than any other appeal in behalf of boys and girls. When it comes to the problem of support, it is far easier to obtain funds from urban and general sources on the missionary appeal than in any other way. The nation is accustomed to give to rural philanthropy which has the stamp of the church upon it.

ADVANTAGES FROM POINT OF VIEW OF NATURALIZATION

On the side of naturalization, it was argued that financial obligation for boys' and girls' work in the field of religious education is already widely recognized locally. Rural people do not give much, but many rural people habitually give a little to the present interdenominational Sunday-school work. It will be possible to build upon this tradition.

Again, the rural religious education movement is in great danger of attempted uniformity. It would greatly reënforce its breadth of appeal if a variety of spontaneous and active character-building movements, such as the agencies are, were associated with it.

Still further, alliance with the inter-denominational organization of the church for religious education fulfills the demand for a local adult constituency profoundly motivated by the Christian spirit. It has been seen how insistent some of the agencies are upon the development of such a constituency. In the proposed alliance, organized work for boys and girls is not left an orphan in the community. It is rather a movement which has a permanent home within the most deeply rooted religious forces.

ADVANTAGES FROM POINT OF VIEW OF ADJUSTMENT

On the side of adjustment with the local church, the crying need for which was actually demonstrated, the report pointed

out that the local church is accustomed to an approach from the outside in behalf of religious education, and that this psychological advantage might well be appropriated in behalf of the larger character-building effort. The church, which has been excessively critical of the agencies, might be docile under such an approach, rather than alarmed and opposed as it so frequently is at present.

Again, rural organization for religious education has been traditionally interdenominational and has not run afoul of the sectarian differences within Protestantism which the agencies so naturally try to avoid.[4]

While interdenominational, the rural religious education movement nevertheless has ecclesiastical prestige and authority. It has the long-time approval of the denominations coöperating in it. By becoming related to it the work of the agencies could most easily escape conflict with local denominational movements.

SPECIAL TIMELINESS

A special argument for the timeliness of the proposed experiments was found in the present plastic character of the religious education movement. Religious education, as was shown, has outlined a program calling for just such character-building work as the agencies are doing in the rural field. At present, however, its resources are too weak to carry out the proposed program in these areas to any great extent. It is just the locally undeveloped character of actual religious education (in contrast with its virtually complete scheme) which affords the opportunity for the agencies, just now, to ally themselves with it aggressively. Organized religious education, in other words, presents a tool for whomsoever will use it locally. The overhead forces are generally too weak to involve a conflict. They want their ideas carried out and will welcome any bona fide local alliance. By the time that the overhead organization of

[4] In the discussion it was agreed that proposed experiments of this sort had better be tried in communities where there is little Catholic or Hebrew population. When coöperation measures have been worked out in Protestant areas there will be more hope of extending them to include other populations.

religious education in its new phase becomes strong enough to try to insist upon its own way in rural communities, it ought to find the character-building agencies well intrenched and naturalized within their religious education processes, in many important territories. This will compel the religious education movement, as it develops from above, to unlimber and become teachable. Such a result will incidentally be of great advantage to the movement itself.

Finally, the permanent injection into the religious movement of the enthusiasm, the virile lay leadership, and the strong body of volunteer workers with boy- and girl-groups, now expressed in the character-building agencies, will be most stimulating and helpful.

SUMMARY

The report had previously recognized as a primary problem of adjustment the re-relating to the church of the character-building agencies for rural youth which bear the name "Christian." [5] As the experiment proposed above was outlined, it threw into relief anew the three movements involved. First, there is the older movement of organized Sunday-school work in villages and open-country territory. It was interdenominational, informal, largely non-ecclesiastical in method and spirit. The lay mind of rural Protestantism is strongly committed to coöperation in this field. Second, there is the newer religious education movement, entering into the heritage of the older one, and adding the formal and authoritative coöperation of the Protestant denominations as well as a far broader interpretation of educational objectives and program. Finally, there are the "Christian" character-building agencies. They are essentially lay movements, not formally related to ecclesiastical organizations but historically originating in Protestantism. All three function finally with particular groups of young people in local churches.

The proposed experiment really constitutes a great and novel effort to harmonize, in limited local territory, these three media of major moral influence which belong together in ideal and

[5] P. 208.

spirit; and which, in some areas, are opposing or trying to forestall one another, and in others, feeling after more sympathetic and coöperative adjustments.

INCLUSIVE EXPERIMENTS

The report also recommended a group of experiments which would attempt locally to link the movements of religious and secular idealism—whose problematic relations were previously recognized [6]—through a type of coöperative territorial organization including all constructive character-building agencies. It was felt that the most natural form of experiment would be simply to include more agencies; but that the religious education movement might still be the functional center, provided broad enough arrangements were made to include religious education in all communions. It was pointed out that the local units of Scout organizations are already so largely in the church and so frequently related to Sunday-school groups that no revolutionary change is actually implied; also, that the lay mind, as represented in the Rotary and Kiwanis club elements of rural communities, would not be suspicious of the non-sectarian organization for religious education, as they are of the denominational churches. It was felt, therefore, that there should be no practical difficulty in associating the Boy and Girl Scout movements and the Camp Fire Girls with the rural movement of religious education and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations when they exist in the same territory. The result would be a joint commission of character-building and religious education agencies for the period of the experiment, with overlapping directorates, joint executives and unified programs. After the experimental period, such a commission might be perpetuated as a permanent council of such agencies.

DETAILS OF PROPOSED RELATIONSHIPS

The relationships of the national agencies to local units bearing their labels would be exactly the same as they are now with

[6] P. 212.

such units when not under intensive supervision. The national agencies would simply suspend or agree not to import the methods of intensive supervision into the territory concerned for the time of the experiment. For example, a Scout troop not "under council" is a locally initiated and locally controlled group conforming to national standards. It is consequently recognized by national authority. It may be wholly within some church or school (exactly as it would be under the proposed plan), but the local Scout machinery would be affiliated with the territorial council of religious education. In other words, no principle of local action is involved other than that already in use with respect to indigenous agencies in communities. Minor changes in practice would be inevitable, but would follow naturally.

National, state and larger district representatives of the agencies would have the same relation to units within the boundaries of the proposed experiment that they now have to units in unorganized territory.

The same tests of proper leadership and standard work which now apply would still be maintained by the agencies and there would be the same requirements of progress and achievement before the granting of promotion and honors.

The agencies would all share in the training of leaders through their available territorial representatives.

Per capita membership fees for the support of the respective national agencies might be required from any local unit asking recognition from them exactly as at present. Consequently, national financing would not be interfered with and direct appeal to wealthy individuals should not be abridged. If local Community Chests or other novelties of financing developed, the matter of relationships would come up on its own merits exactly as though the experiment was not in process.

ACTION OF FINDINGS CONFERENCE

The findings conference of February 24, 1925, voted to recommend to the agencies experiments in territorial coöperation as recommended by the report; namely, in unified rural

counties or comparable areas of intensive supervision (a) to include only agencies originating in the church and indigenous religious movements, and (b) to include all constructive and character-forming agencies for youth.

SUMMARY OF ACTION OF FINDINGS CONFERENCE

The series of actions of the findings conference of February 24, 1925, upon the experiments recommended by the report may be summarized as follows:

> In general approval of the recommendations, it was moved and carried that the agencies coöperating in the study are to initiate a series of experiments in local coöperation along lines suggested in the report.
>
> It was specifically voted to recommend:
>
> I. Experiments in coöperative publicity and service in larger administrative districts (such as small states, parts of large states or groups of contiguous counties having a natural unity and perhaps centering in a city).
>
> II. Experiments including only agencies originating in the church: (1) local—in independent communities centering in towns of 2,500 population and over; (2) territorial—in unified rural counties or comparable areas under intensive supervision.
>
> III. Experiments including all constructive and character-building agencies for youth: (1) local—in independent communities as defined above; (2) territorial—in unified rural counties as defined above.
>
> The plan for coöperative experiment as discussed had generally assumed the location of the several experiments in different parts of the country. A contrary policy of concentration was, however, favored by some; and it was moved and carried that the agencies be asked to consider as one alternative the possibility of centralizing the entire series of experiments in a single state.
>
> Finally, it was moved and carried that the results of the conference be communicated to each agency for consideration and action and that they be asked to send replies covering any action taken to Henry Israel, Secretary, National Council of Social Agencies Doing Rural Work, Room 1849, Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City.

A SERIES OF EXPERIMENTAL TESTS

The plan thus proposed and approved did not ask for any overnight adoption of a final solution of the problem of character-building work for rural boys and girls. What it did propose was an adequate series of experimental tests on which to base the next steps forward. A minimum of fifteen experiments of the types above enumerated was suggested. This would imply:

(1) A choice of two or three large districts for coöperative publicity and service to see how far rural society could be penetrated by long-range methods.

(2) The choice of a well-distributed group of communities of from 2,500 to 10,000 population including several types to serve as practical laboratories for intensive local organization under community councils of youth. Part of this series of experiments would be limited to agencies originating in the church, while others would include all the constructive agencies.

(3) The selection of a group of socially unified counties or comparable areas for intensive territorial organization and supervision under a coöperative agreement; these also to include both the cases limited to agencies originating in the church and other cases including all the constructive agencies.

DURATION AND POSSIBLE AUSPICES

The report recommended that the experiment last for five years, that a joint commission or agency mutually agreed upon (such as possibly the Conference of National Social Agencies Doing Rural Work) should watch and guide the experiment and report impartially upon its results. It also urged that especially competent men and women, heartily believing in the experiment and committed to the community viewpoint in their local work, should be chosen by the agencies to carry it out.

RECOGNIZED PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The execution of so far-reaching a plan is, of course, not without problems and difficulties. The report, therefore, con-

cluded with a warning and an appeal to the better nature both of the agencies and of the communities respectively involved.

The agencies are not conspicuously succeeding at present. The absolute gaps in their work are too many. Within the assumed successes the cases of low vitality are too frequent. The wear and tear of competition and the shifting fortunes of the work are too great to make any one want to perpetuate the present situation. It is socially chaotic, pedagogically distressing, often morally sickening. Some better way must be found.

On the other hand, the good of the boys and girls of America is the end and object of all the work—not the agencies nor their systems nor their treasuries.

A WARNING AND APPEAL

The rural communities on their part frequently present the tragical spectacle of an impoverished life for youth, of lack of sympathy and sometimes downright feud conditions between the generations. Their need of "something for boys and girls" and their inability to provide a satisfactory solution is the most outstanding and pathetic revelation of the study. Not infrequently the chief use which communities wish to make of the agencies at present is to reënforce their own competitive local institutions.

This is all the more reason why the agencies should cooperatively provide a program appealing to the better nature of the communities and turning them toward habits of social integration. At present a town having good work for a brief period for one age or sex may have a bad total atmosphere and a depressive influence upon the life of youth. The waste of divided effort, the social disaster of such situations constitute an imperative argument for finding some better way.

All the constructive forces combined are none too strong to overcome the tendency toward moral sag and disintegration. On the other hand, the strength of union and the ultimate joy of coöperative service present a great appeal in behalf of the proposed experiments.

Appendix I

CHRONOLOGY OF THE STUDY

January, 1922: Institute of Social and Religious Research approved a "Study of Religious Agencies in the Rural Field," intended to include character-building agencies as well as churches, as requested by the representatives of certain national agencies.

November, 1922: Study of Churches and of Character-Building Agencies separated into two projects on account of noncomparability of existing data in amount and content, and the "relative independence" of the two phases of investigation.

January, 1923: The latter phase authorized as a separate study under the title, "Study of Rural Religious Agencies."

March, 1923: Appointment of Director.

April, 1923: Coöperation of agencies secured (see Preface, p. vi, and Appendix II).

May, 1923: First informal conference of representatives of agencies and other experts. Organization of advisory group (Enlarged later. For list, see Appendix III).

May 16, 1923: Formal meeting of advisory group. Agreement on the following: "(1) that the primary study should be limited to agencies operating nationally, but (2) that the study should fix upon their functioning in rural communities and should be carried down into the actual units of population rather than stopping with the county or district units of administration; (3) that all agencies encountered in the local field and doing related work should be incidentally included; (4) that in the method of the study field work should precede study of headquarters' records and documents, though both should be adequately included."

June, 1923: Staff conferences formulating schedules and methodology (Appendix IV).

July, 1923-*February,* 1924: Field work by the following persons:

Name	*Number of Counties Studied*
The director	14
Miss Helena M. Dickinson	14
Rev. Virgil V. Johnson	12
Miss Helen O. Belknap	8
Truman B. Douglass	4
Rev. C. O. Gill	1

March-May, 1924: Tabulation of general and county data. Conferences with representatives of agencies and study of headquarters documents.

May 20, 1924: Presentation of Preliminary Report (of 170 typewritten pages) to advisors and all-day discussion at the Presbyterian Board Rooms, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Resolution adopted:

"We have heard with deep interest the report of Dr. Douglass for the Institute of Social and Religious Research and express our appreciation of its exceptional value and receive it as an advance of the thinking upon this whole area of work; we hope to see it published by the Institute and the studies carried further in these directions: (1) a statement of the underlying purpose of the organizations investigated; (2) a statement of the results they have attained; (3) a description of their programs."

June-September, 1924: Tabulation of community data and study of the results.

June, 1924: Presentation of the preliminary report to meeting of National Social Agencies Doing Rural Work.

September, 1924: Completion of second part of preliminary report.

October, 1924: Authorization of preparation of an abbreviated complete report for the use and criticism of the coöperating agencies, and appropriation for publication of a brief popular book based on the report.

December, 1924: Completion of abbreviated report and circulation to agencies.

February 24, 1925: Second Findings Conference of representatives of the agencies, other rural experts and project staff at the Fraternity Club, Thirty-eighth Street and Madison Avenue, New York City. Presentation of total preliminary report (200 typewritten pages), discussion and recommendations.

May, 1925: Completion of report in its present form.

Appendix II

LIST OF COÖPERATING AGENCIES

Boy Scouts of America.
Federal Council of Churches of Christ (Commission on Councils of Churches).
International Sunday School Council of Religious Education.
Young Men's Christian Association.
Young Women's Christian Association.
The Girl Scouts, Inc.[1]

[1] By informal action, after the study had begun.

Appendix III

ADVISORS

Dr. Walter S. Athearn, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Miss Mary Meek Atkeson, 1821 Lamont Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Dr. E. deS. Brunner, 370 Seventh Avenue, N. Y. City.
Pres. Kenyon L. Butterfield, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.
Mr. G. E. Farrell, States Relation Service, Dept. Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Geo. J. Fisher, Boy Scouts of America, 200 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. City.
Dr. Charles J. Galpin, Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Walter H. Gilpatric, 20 Midland Avenue, White Plains, N. Y. (Y.W.C.A.)
Dr. Roy B. Guild, Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd Street, N. Y. City.
Mr. Clark P. Howland, Phelps Farm, Milan, Pa.
Mr. Henry Israel, American Country Life Association, Room 1849, Grand Central Terminal Building, N. Y. City.
Mr. A. C. Reeves, Trenton *Evening Times,* Trenton, N. J. (Y.M.C.A.)
Mr. A. E. Roberts, 347 Madison Avenue, N. Y. City (Y.M.C.A.).
Miss Henrietta Roelofs, 600 Lexington Avenue, N. Y. City (Y.W.C.A.).
Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin, 189 Lexington Avenue, N. Y. City (Girl Scouts).
Mr. John A. Sherley, Eastern States Agricultural & Industrial League, Springfield, Mass.
Mr. Elmer T. Thienes, 5 Haynes Street, Hartford, Conn. (Y.M.C.A.)
Rev. Paul R. Vogt, 1701 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. James E. West, Boy Scouts of America, 200 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. City.
Dr. Warren H. Wilson, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, 156 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

Appendix IV

ESTIMATES OF MEMBERSHIP

The following figures give the estimated number of minors in the membership of five national agencies in communities of 10,000 population and under. For reasons stated in the text they are only careful estimates.

Agency	*Minor Members*
Boy Scouts	216,000
Y.W.C.A.	30,375
Y.M.C.A.	33,000
Girl Scouts	26,000
Camp Fire Girls	25,000
Total	330,375

The Boy Scouts furnish about 62 per cent. of the estimated total.

The method of reaching the above figures is as follows: The Young Men's Christian Association reports organized members in the Town and Country Department in its annual yearbooks. The figure quoted for this agency is based upon the reported members of groups (1923 *Year Book,* "Summary E," p. 115), to which is added an estimate for the membership of high-school groups or town and small city associations in communities of the size-group included but not under the town and country department. The Association also reports its total boy membership outside of city associations. This affords means of checking the figures.

The Young Women's Christian Association estimate is based upon direct reports from the national office for members of organized counties and members of Girl Reserve groups in unorganized rural territory, with an addition for the members of separately organized town associations in places of less than 10,000 and of rural extension clubs of city associations.

The estimate for the Boy Scouts is based upon the *Twelfth Annual Report* (1921, p. 8), which shows that 48 per cent. of Scout troops at that time were in communities of less than 10,000 population. The average size of the troop appears to be about

the same in urban and rural territory, so that it is fair to assume that approximately one-half of the Boy Scouts membership (reported at 432,995 as of February 15, 1923) is found in communities of the size covered by the Town and Country Departments of the Christian Associations.

Only 5 per cent. of Scouts "under council," however, are found in towns of less than one thousand population (*Report of National Boy Scout Commission on Rural Scouting,* 1922, p. 3).

For the Girl Scouts the basis of the estimate is extremely indefinite. There is no distinction between urban and rural in reports made to national headquarters, and the matter has been investigated in only one state, namely, *Study of the Girl Scout Program in Relation to the New York Rural Community,* by Dr. Louise Stevens Bryant (Girl Scouts, Inc., 1923). This study shows that in New York only one Girl Scout in seven is "rural." But one Scout troop in four is located in a place of 2,500 or less, and the rural proportion for the United States as a whole is probably greater, since its general urban development is less than that of New York. It seems fair therefore to estimate that one-third of the 80,229 Girl Scouts reported in 1914 are to be found in communities of the size under consideration. This results in the estimate of 26,000 rural Girl Scouts quoted in the text.

The Camp Fire Girls have no separate rural department, no recognition of any difference in rural work in their formal reports, no statistics, and no special study made by the agency of its rural work as such. (Interview with National Executives, July 25, 1924.) The organization claims to be particularly strong in smaller cities and towns and in a number of states such as Iowa, Nebraska and Colorado, which have few cities. Under these conditions a considerable proportion of the Camp Fire membership of 160,000 girls (*Annual Report,* 1923, p. 13) must be rural, but in view of the lack of evidence the estimate of the text (25,000) may be rather wide of the mark. But the relatively small contribution of this organization to the total rural membership of the agencies does not greatly affect the result one way or the other.

The membership of about 600,000 boys and girls in the Junior Extension Clubs of the United States and State Extension Services is based upon direct reports of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1922 (*Department Circular* 312, 1924, p. 1).

Appendix V

METHODOLOGY

1. THE TERRITORIAL SAMPLE

The investigation used the familiar method of studying a social situation by means of an adequate and representative territorial sampling of the facts.

The fifty-three counties studied (for list, see Table I) constitute only 1.7 per cent. of the counties of the United States, and include only 4.1 per cent. of the population. This is enough, however, to reveal typical facts and to establish trends.

BASIS OF SELECTION

The counties were chosen in the following manner. Each cooperating agency was asked to indicate an approximately equal number of counties in which their work showed "good," "fair," and "poor" results, respectively. From this list a selection was made so as to give a reasonable regional balance, to reflect the influence of the more marked economic and agricultural provinces, and also to represent all degrees of occupancy by the agencies.

CONSEQUENCE OF DUAL REQUIREMENT

In order to constitute a good sample, the territory chosen had not only to be a fair cross-section of the United States, but it had also fairly to represent the actual distribution of the work of the agencies which is not equally diffused throughout the area of the nation. Consequently the sample could not be equally satisfactory from both standpoints and a certain compromise was inevitable.

ACTUAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROSS SAMPLE

While the counties chosen revealed a fair sample of the population of the United States by race and nationality, it turned out to be one-sided in several respects.

It included a disproportionate number of counties with declining rural population. The average farm value of the counties studied was one-third beyond that of the United States as a whole. There was a relatively less rural and more urban population than the average, and much of the population classified as rural was really suburban.

The primary cause of these one-sidednesses in the sample was the fact that the agencies have disproportionately cultivated rich counties, many of them lying near cities. The total sample was fairly typical of the areas in which the agencies are working, but was less satisfactory as a really rural cross-section of the nation.

However, the twenty-nine strictly rural counties, considered by themselves, constitute a very good net cross-section of rural United States.[1] There is no reason to believe that any other selection of an equal number of counties would be more representative of the nation-wide work of the agencies.

2. STATISTICAL TREATMENT

No elaborate statistical methods were followed. The data as secured through the schedules were tabulated and summarized in ninety tables throughout the text, generally under self-explanatory headings.

CORRELATIONS

Besides repeated quantitative statements showing how large a fraction of the total comparable population was represented by the sample in its various aspects, and the recurrent comparison of agency with agency, the following correlations were most frequently used: (1) type of organization and supervision; (2) size of community; (3) type of community including types of distribution of population, urban and suburban vs. rural communities, and the degree of social development of communities; (4) number of agencies at work and specific combinations and duplications.

In the tables these categories were applied to the data from numerous points of view to determine what difference their presence or absence made.

A correlation attempted but found not significant was with the degree of wealth of the territorial unit. It appeared that the support of the agencies generally is so little diffused and so much a matter of the backing of a few individuals that differences in general wealth had little to do with general results.

[1] Tables XVIII and XIX.

3. HEADQUARTERS INFORMATION VS. FIELD DATA

While few agencies were able to furnish much strictly comparable headquarters information, such as could be secured was tabulated for the points covered. The results showed striking agreement and tend to confirm the reliability of both sources of information.

4. TESTIMONY

The verbatim testimony of representative citizens was transferred from the schedules and field notes to sheets classified according to the ostensible subjects to which the testimony related. It was then carefully organized under simple categories, care being taken not to force meanings upon it beyond what were really there.

The frequency of judgments favorable and unfavorable concerning the general value of the respective agencies, and the degree of satisfactoriness of their workers and finances, were then counted and interpreted in the light of the investigator's first-hand impressions.

Where possible the judgments were traced to their occupational source, and the points of view of participants and nonparticipants and of witnesses representing different vocations were noted. Nothing is claimed for this technique beyond a systematic and conservative sifting of the testimony.

The implicit philosophy of human development and of rural life, which entered into the point of view of the study, is confessed in the final sections, and is distinguished from conclusions which appear to emerge directly from the facts. The final constructive suggestions are based upon the total results of the study and are believed to constitute well-considered hypotheses to be proved or disproved by further experiment.

Appendix VI

RELATION TO PREVIOUS AND PARALLEL STUDIES OF RURAL AGENCIES

The present study may be regarded as a phase of investigation incident to the efforts of agencies of rural welfare to redefine and adjust their work after the abnormal World War expansion. Although there is no formal connection between it and previous investigations in the same field, it has a certain historic continuity with earlier efforts.

During the two and one-half years following 1918, a large group of national agencies doing rural social work undertook a co-operative permanent council. A formulation of general problems and methods of rural work, an outlined statement of the program of each important agency, and a partial sketch of a proposed manual of rural social work were reported to the second National Country Life Association meeting in 1919 and published in its proceedings.

A second conference of the agencies took action expressing dissatisfaction with the outlined statement of the work of national agencies just referred to because of its indefinite and blanket character. It referred the former report "back to the agencies for revision on the basis of present organization and method including more definite statements of means and methods employed on a strictly rural basis by those bodies serving both urban and rural communities." It also voted "that agencies be requested to indicate the definite territory which they occupied as of date of March 31, 1919."

The National Council of Social Agencies Doing Rural Work (affiliated with the American Country Life Association), which grew out of this effort, has now in preparation a directory and a statement of rural program covering all types of agencies.

The present study was historically coincident with several notable efforts of the major agencies to reëxamine their rural work for themselves. The Young Men's Christian Association, for example, had three commissions investigating its rural work in various phases during 1924. The Young Women's Christian Association has secured a special gift from Mr. Henry Ford for

rural experimental work to cover a period of three years, and is engaged in redefining its problems and setting up its methods of investigation.

Other agencies have not so completely identified, nor administratively separated, their rural work. They are nevertheless increasingly recognizing its importance and its special problems. For a second time, the Boy Scouts of America have appointed a commission to report on rural work. The Girl Scouts have recently issued for New York State the first report in which their rural work is statistically segregated.

Appendix VII

STATISTICS OF RURAL WORK OF THREE NATIONAL AGENCIES

ORGANIZED ASSOCIATIONS OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, 1923*

County or Comparable District

State and County	*Number of Communities*	*Members* *Junior*	*Adult*	*Budget*
Connecticut				
Hartford County	23	300	200	$3,300.00
Delaware				
Northern District	11	264	253	3,190.00
Maine				
York County (1922)	13	200	686	3,302.31
Massachusetts				
Western Massachusetts District	14	218	58	2,800.00
New Jersey				
Burlington County	25	453	2,105	7,366.32
New York				
Chautauqua County	26	650	504	9,086.34
Greene County	4	150	50	1,000.00
Suffolk County	12	275	75	3,300.00
Vermont				
Five Districts under Vermont Council	95	1,500†		5,000.00
West Virginia				
Fayette County	18	...	...	3,000.00
Florida				
Pinellas County	10	266	300	5,420.00
Volusia County	8	175	225	6,000.00
Kentucky				
Harlan County	2	147	132	3,800.00
South Carolina				
Spartanburg County	11	147	132	4,000.00

* Data from the Rural Communities Department, Y. W. C. A.
† Total.

ORGANIZED ASSOCIATIONS OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, 1923 (*Continued*)

COUNTY OR COMPARABLE DISTRICT

State and County	*Number of Communities*	*Members Junior*	*Adult*	*Budget*
Iowa				
Cherokee County	7	274	189	$3,352.00
Henry County	3	273	363	2,658.00
Page County	4	411	95	2,843.00
Michigan				
Hillsdale County	7	234	276	3,262.00
Wexford County	6	170	428	4,711.00
Minnesota				
Goodhue County (1922)	1	87	269	2,853.00
Mower County (1922)	1	150	50	3,000.00
Ohio				
Van Wert County	6	168	596	10,000.00
Clark County	13	273	10	.....
South Dakota				
Beadle County	6	250	250	6,000.00
Brookings County	5	(No further information)		
Oklahoma				
N. E. Oklahoma District	7	725	400	4,000.00
Texas				
Galveston District (1922)	6	120	100	.....
Rio Grande Valley District	..	850*		.....
Kansas				
McPherson County (1922)	10	111	250	3,000.00
Nebraska				
Gage County	4	398	500	† 33,702.00
Adams County	3	421	559	8,003.94
California				
Imperial County	6	...	...	3,000.00
Tulare County	6	233	440	7,384.00
Washington				
Pierce County	12	431	304	3,000.00

* Total.
† Including a small city association under the Rural Communities Department.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS, 1923*

State and County	Number of Communities	Salaried Officers	Groups		Membership			
			No.	Members	Men	Boys	Total	Active
California								
Fresno	13	2	28	495	...	495	495	75
Humboldt	2	2	15	420	...	420	420	24
Kings	13	1	22	325	45	...	45	45
Los Angeles, Central District	6	1	13	351	32	332	364	364
Orange	14	5	52	785	65	720	785	355
San Bernardino	6	1	26	664	...	664	664	...
Santa Clara	10	1	34	464	125	339	464	125
San Diego	5	1	4	65	20	45	65	30
Stanislaus	8	1	5	118	100	200	300	200
Yuba-Sutter	5	1	5	125	...	125	125	10
Connecticut								
Fairfield	25	1	14	261	200	261	461	200
Hartford	23	3	31	739	830	444	1,274	733
Litchfield	14	1	17	177	83	139	222	...
Middlesex	12	1	10	144	79	109	188	...
New Haven	6	1	14	190	300	190	490	273
New London	8	1	8	123	...	123	123	...
Tolland	13	1	17	251	170	197	367	283
Windham	13	1	16	193	128	144	272	...
Florida								
Orange	5	2	9	131	27	...	27	26
Polk	7	..	..	....	90	...	90	80
Volusia	14	3	16	200	13	47	60	...
Illinois								
Du Page	7	1	9	197	150	121	271	271
Indiana								
Noble	8	1	16	310	60	...	60	...
Iowa								
Black Hawk	13	1	15	325	165	...	165	...
Buena Vista	8	1	17	250	75	250	325	325
Calhoun	9	1	18	243	40	203	243	150
Madison	8	1	8	247	43	247	290	43
Marion	7	1	13	377	265	361	626	228
Kansas								
McPherson	10	1	13	270	...	270	270	...
Pratt	1	..	2	93	...	93	93	150
Kentucky								
Bourbon	..	1	7	150	63	157	220	202
Maine								
Cumberland	17	1	9	128	...	128	128	25

* *Year Book and Official Roster 1923*, Young Men's Christian Associations of North America.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS, 1923 (*Continued*)

State and County	Number of Communities	Salaried Officers	Groups		Membership			Active
			No.	Members	Men	Boys	Total	
Massachusetts								
Plymouth	18	1	14	186	...	186	186	...
Michigan								
Barry	9	1	23	272	15	70	85	...
Hillsdale	4	1	7	70	50	...	50	50
Kent	6	1	..	...	...	25	25	25
Livingston	4	1	6	155	120	100	220	165
Montcalm	7	1	8	137	...	137	137	...
Oakland	19	2	33	480	150	400	550	...
Ottawa	6	1	15	352	135	217	352	75
St. Clair	5	2	16	186	10	176	186	80
Missouri								
Jasper	9	1	5	122	24	22	46	24
Nebraska								
Burt	6	1	10	156	350	200	550	...
Jefferson	8	1	6	160	350	160	510	350
Scotts Bluff	1	1	10	165	...	165	165	206
New Hampshire								
Cheshire	14	1	14	185	20	165	185	...
Rockingham	27	1	9	183	...	183	183	...
Stafford	14	1	19	212	645	231	876	...
Sullivan	9	2	9	189	61	72	133	...
New Jersey								
Bergen	25	2	25	624	815	216	1,031	...
Burlington	35	2	45	671	...	311	311	...
Camden	16	2	31	734	216	518	734	...
Gloucester	21	2	37	1,250	...	1,250	1,250	...
Hunterdon	11	2	25	972	121	...	121	...
Mercer	10	1	16	278	556	278	834	...
Monmouth	11	1	20	273	144	211	355	...
Somerset	20	3	23	395	225	290	515	...
Sussex	9	1	10	240	50	140	190	...
New York								
Alleghany	8	1	8	283	306	...	306	134
Chautauqua	13	1	15	360	...	360	360	...
Herkimer	10	1	6	140	...	140	140	140
Monroe	6	1	8	75	...	75	75	...
Nassau-Suffolk	26	6	..	...	194	5	199	129
Oneida	13	1	..	...	120	80	200	200
Orange	7	1	12	265	35	245	280	...
Steuben	6	1	9	216	...	216	216	150
Westchester	32	2	..	...	40	68	108	...
Wyoming	7	1	6	210	...	210	210	100

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS, 1923 (*Continued*)

State and County	Number of Communities	Salaried Officers	Groups		Membership			
			No.	Members	Men	Boys	Total	Active
North Dakota								
Barnes	7	1	11	116	...	116	116	...
Ohio								
Hamilton	16	1	21	208	82	253	335	312
Lake	7	1	9	168	78	138	216	...
Medina	11	1	14	316	140	316	456	...
Montgomery	13	1	18	126	54	72	126	126
Portage	14	1	15	308	16	180	196	167
Stark	5	1	5	65	90	145	235	235
Summit	10	1	13	185	...	125	125	45
Wyandot	7	1	8	120	40	120	160	110
Oregon								
Jackson	4	1	4	77	50	77	127	...
Marion	10	1	18	358	90	358	448	...
South Carolina								
Florence	9	1	9	191	283	...	283	431
Lee	8	1	15	211	248	162	410	274
Texas								
Angelina	4	1	1	22	87	18	105	...
Harrison	2	1	6	85	...	85	85	22
Hidalgo	10	1	9	170	...	170	170	...
Hunt	20	1	20	516	87	429	516	150
Vermont								
Windsor	15	1	..	...	250	...	250	250
Washington								
Pierce	6	1	12	250	175	225	400	225
Wisconsin								
Barron	3	..	4	61	72	54	126	120
Dodge	6	1	8	170	12	...	12	12
Rock	13	1	17	337	50	...	50	...
Walworth	15	1	26	400	...	400	400	10
CANADA								
Ontario								
Simcoe	4	1	25	275	150	225	375	...
Wentworth	..	1	24	250	...	250	250	...
Prince Edward Island								
Prince	23	1	36	554	325	440	765	...

BOY SCOUT COUNTY COUNCILS AND COUNCILS IN TOWNS OF LESS THAN 10,000

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, 1924

	1st Class County Councils			*Councils in Towns of Less Than 10,000*			*Total*		
	No. of Councils	*No. of Troops*	*No. of Scouts*	*No. of Councils*	*No. of Troops*	*No. of Scouts*	*No. of Councils*	*No. of Troops*	*No. of Scouts*
New England									
Maine	1	23	63				1	23	63
Massachusetts	4	99	1,077				4	99	1,077
Middle Atlantic									
New York	12	547	12,478				12	547	12,478
New Jersey	4	108	2,330				4	108	2,330
Pennsylvania	8	526	11,904	2	15	297	10	541	12,201
East No. Central									
Ohio	9	143	2,953				9	143	2,953
Indiana	2	37	745				2	37	745
Illinois	2	33	665	1	1	17	3	34	682
Michigan	2	37	653				2	37	653
Wisconsin				1	9	153	1	9	153
West No. Central									
Minnesota	1	81	1,574	2	15	352	3	96	1,926
Iowa	1	25	461	1	13	238	2	38	699
Missouri	2	29	556				2	29	556
South Dakota				*1	3	73	1	3	73
Nebraska	3	29	594				3	29	594
Kansas	1	7	108				1	7	108
Southern									
Virginia	1	2	42				1	2	42
North Carolina	1	17	294				1	17	294
South Carolina	1	7	120				1	7	120
Georgia	2	52	1,078				2	52	1,078
Florida	2	27	476	*1	5	104	3	32	580
Kentucky	1	22	262				1	22	262
Tennessee	1	28	728	*1	2	63	2	30	791
Alabama	1	11	213				1	11	213
Arkansas				1	9	141	1	9	141
Oklahoma	8	124	2,620	2	11	274	10	135	2,894
Texas	4	112	2,425				4	112	2,425
Mountain									
Montana	4	39	806				4	39	806
Idaho	2	42	873	1	9	216	3	51	1,089
Wyoming	1	7	153				1	7	153
Colorado	1	18	316				1	18	316
Arizona	2	42	835				2	42	835
Utah	2	68	1,542				2	68	1,542
Pacific									
Washington	1	13	288	1	8	155	2	21	443
Oregon	1	8	141				1	8	141
California	14	330	7,096	1	5	172	15	335	7,268
	102	2,693	56,469	16	105	2,255	118	2,798	58,724

* 2nd Class Councils.

INDEX

Accounting, methods of, in national agencies, 73
Activities, duration of, 144
Actual programs vs. advertised, 143
Adjustment,
  advantages from point of view of, 228
  approval of incidental, 207
  of the coöperating agencies, 222
  possible solutions, 207
  radical local solutions disapproved, 208
  re-relating "Christian" agencies to the church, 208
  suggested aspects of, 208
Advisors, in this study, 239
Adult membership, 82
Advancement of members, degree of, 70
Advertised programs vs. actual, 143
Age, of living units, 68
  of volunteer workers, 95
  tendencies, 69
Approach, primary method of, 192
Approval, qualified, 131
Assumptions,
  general, 177
  peculiar to the agencies, 175
  underlying, 175
Attitudes, general, 170
  the most prevalent, 171

Boy Scouts of America, 25, 29, 31, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 74-80, 85, 86, 90-92, 96, 100-103, 106, 108, 110, 114-117, 119, 124-126, 129, 130, 134, 141, 145-147, 152, 156, 157, 159, 162, 165, 190, 199, 209, 223, 232, 238, 240, 246

"Call" to the work, the, 175
Camp Fire Girls, 25, 30, 39, 42, 45, 46, 53, 64, 65, 69, 70, 74-80, 85, 90-92, 96, 100-103, 111, 117, 147, 154, 209, 223, 231, 240
Change of agency in a community, reason for, 72
Charts, see table of contents
"Christian" agencies, re-relating the, to the church, 208
Chronology of the study, 236
Church,
  agencies originating in, 225
  the rural, 183
Cities, starting work with, 51
City, interaction of country and, 179
Commercial clubs, 87
Committees,
  central territorial, 97
  local, 94
  organization in local, 45, 48
Community council, the, 221
Community organizations, relation of agencies to, 84
Community secretary, the, 221
Communities,
  adult membership in local, 82
  duration as affected by size of, 68

Communities, *Cont.*
general reactions of, 128
larger independent, 194
taking root in local, 64
Compensation, rural, 178
Competition, 135
reactions to, 138
Continuity, degree of, in local units, 72
Continuity of influence, question of, 182
Coöperating agencies, adjustment of, 222
list of, 238
Coöperation,
general conditions of, proposed experiments, 218
methods of, 134
methods and degree of local, 43
plan for experiment (see "Experiment")
practical justification of experiments in, 216
proposed fields of experiment, 218
remedies sought for present deficiencies, 217
special motives for experiment in, 215
suggested experiments in, 215
Coöperative territorial organization, experiments in, 225
Country, interaction of city and, 179
County unit, when justified, 196
when inadmissible, 197
Cultural relationships, 70

Development, results of non-social, 181
Differences between and among agencies, 39, 65, 105
Directorates, overlapping, 226
Divergencies, 149
Duration, as affected by size of community, 68
of promotional organizations, 65

Environmental relationships, 70
Executive, characteristics of the territorial, 105
Executives, functions of, as professional supervisors, 108
joint, 226
Experiment, plan of (for coöperation)
action of findings conference, 220
arguments for, 219
permeation of rural territory by long-range promotion, 219
possible details of the plan, 219
specific objective, 220
Experiments,
arguments for effort to cover larger rural communities, 224
conditions of legitimate, 225
inclusive, 231
Experimental tests, a series of, 234
duration and possible auspices, 234
recognized problems and difficulties, 234
warning and appeal, 235

Farmers' organizations, 185
Field investigators, finances rated by, 121
Field data vs. headquarters information, 244
Finance,
facts of territorial, 118
in territorial organization, 118
is work worth cost, 121
issue of financial support, 195
problem of, 192

Finance, *Cont.*
rated by field investigators, 121
representative opinion on, 121
what turns the tide, 122
Financial methods and shortcomings, 120
Findings conference, action of February, 1925, 224, 232

Girl Reserves, 83, 84, 160, 191
Girl Scouts, Inc., 25, 30, 39, 45, 46, 53, 65, 69, 70, 74-80, 90-92, 96, 100, 103, 111, 117, 130, 134, 147, 154, 192, 223, 238, 240, 246
Group organization, importance of, 180

Handicaps, rural, 177
Headquarters information vs. field data, 244
Hi Y, 81, 84, 191

Incorporated places, occupancy of, 45
Indigenous agencies, attitude of leaders of, 130
Idealism, assimilation of religious and secular, 212
Indigenous vs. national agencies, 185
Influence, continuity of, 182

Joint executives, 226
Junior Extension Clubs, 30, 33, 34, 36, 64, 134, 222

Kiwanis, 65, 87, 231

Lapsed local organizations, 65
Leaders, 86
attitude of, of indigenous agencies, 130
observed types of, 106
volunteer group, 95
Leadership,
as organized by the agencies, 94
lack of efficient, 93
Living units, age of, 68
Local committees, 94
Local councils of youth, 227
Local territorial organization, 40

Major issues, 187
Meeting places, 85
Members, in sample territory, 34
Membership, estimates of, 240
Men's service clubs, 87
Methodology, 242
Methods, of coöperation, 134
Methods in financing and their shortcomings, 120

National agencies, doing philanthropic work, 25
relations between, 132
vs. indigenous agencies, 185
Naturalization,
advantages from point of view of, 228
definition of, 199
further aspects of, 201
incomplete, explained, 200
unsolved issues, 202
summary, 204
Non-social development, results of, 181

Occupancy,
advantages from point of view of, 227
incorporated places, 45
non-incorporated places, 46
total, of communities, 46
of incorporated places, 45
relation of intensive to long-range, 194
through intensive organization, 188

Operation of agencies, 38-50
Opinion of work, favorable, 157
unfavorable, 161
Organization (s),
experiments in coöperative territorial, 225
experiments in intensive, 220
farmers', 185
finances of territorial, 118
forms of, 40
frequency and distribution of types of, 41
history of local, 66
importance and authority, 176
importance of group, 180
lapsed local, 65
local territorial, 40
occupancy through intensive, 193
origins of county, 42
property of county, 87
relation of agencies to community, 84
relations of organized groups to local parent, 222
unequal diffusion of, 52
Origins, of promotional organizations, 65

Parent organizations, relations of organized groups to local, 222
Philosophy, lack of a clear-cut, 183
Professional supervisors, functions of executives as, 108
Program (s),
a unified, 226
actual vs. advertised, 143
content of local, 144
the common core of variant, 145
Promotion, long range,
present methods of, 190
proposed long-range, 190
Property of county organizations, 87
Public opinion of workers, 107

Qualified approval, 131

Reactions, of communities, 127
Relationships, details of proposed, 231
environmental and cultural, 70
Religious idealism, assimilation of, 212
Report, position of the, 173
Resources, rural, 178
Rotary Club, 43, 65, 87, 231
Rural,
church, 183
compensations and resources, 178
extent of work, 31
handicaps, 177
school, 184

Sample territory, members in, 32
what it proves, 33
School, the rural, 184
Secretary, how much can one do, 110
Secretary, community, 221
Sectarianism, how avoid, in sponsorship, 88
Secular idealism, 212
Segregation of suburban areas, 188
Special constituencies, 89
Sponsorship, 86
Statistical treatment, 243
Statistics, as aid to agencies, 73
Suburban areas, segregation of, 188
Supervision, effects of, 71
intensive, 104, 196
Support, the issue of financial, 195

Tables, illustrative, see table of contents
Territorial committees, 97
Territorial finance, facts of, 118
Territorial organization, experiments in coöperative, 225
Testimony, 244
Time given to volunteer service, 97
Timeliness, special, 229
Towns, starting work with, 51
Types, observed, of leaders, 106

Value, of work, 155
  elements of, recognized, 156
Volunteer group leaders, age of, 95
Volunteer service, time given to, 96

War Work councils, 43
Women's clubs, 65
Work, the, is it worth while, 155
Workers, public opinion of, 107

Young Men's Christian Association, 25, 27, 31, 32, 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 64, 65, 69, 71, 74-80, 84-87, 90-92, 96, 100-103, 105, 106-108, 110, 114-117, 119, 124-126, 129, 130, 134, 141, 143-147, 151, 152, 156, 157, 162, 165, 190, 195, 203, 208, 211, 223, 225, 226, 231, 238, 240, 245
Young Women's Christian Association, 25, 28, 31, 32, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 53, 64, 65, 69, 71, 74-80, 84, 85, 87, 90-92, 96, 100-103, 106, 108, 110, 114-117, 119, 124-126, 129, 130, 141, 145-147, 153, 156, 157, 160, 163, 165, 190, 195, 208, 211, 212, 223, 225, 231, 238, 240, 245

DATE DUE

United Theological Seminary Library
MAIN HT453.D6 1926
Douglass, H. How shall country youth be
3 0645 0001 7597 2